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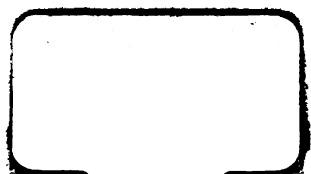
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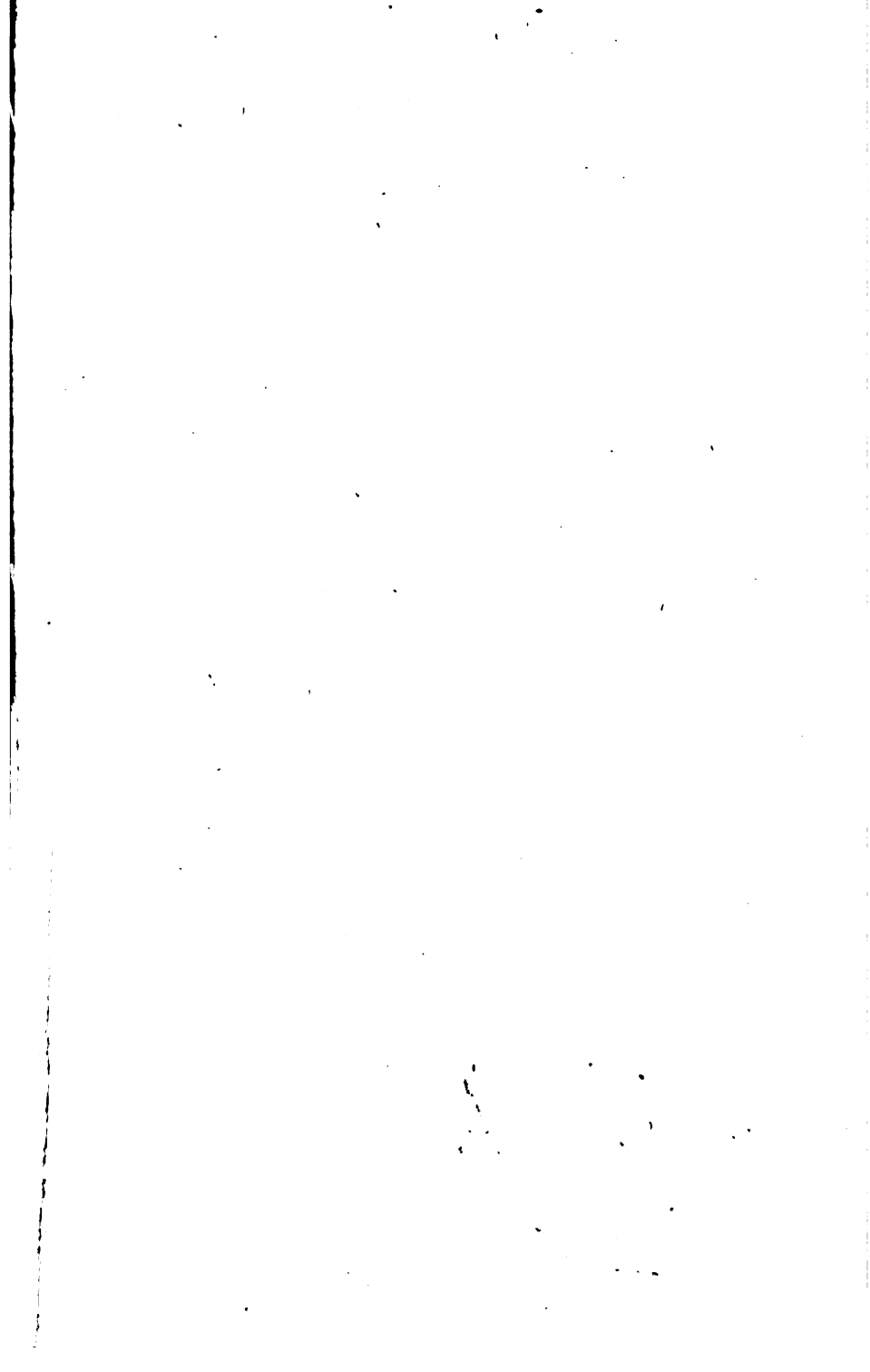
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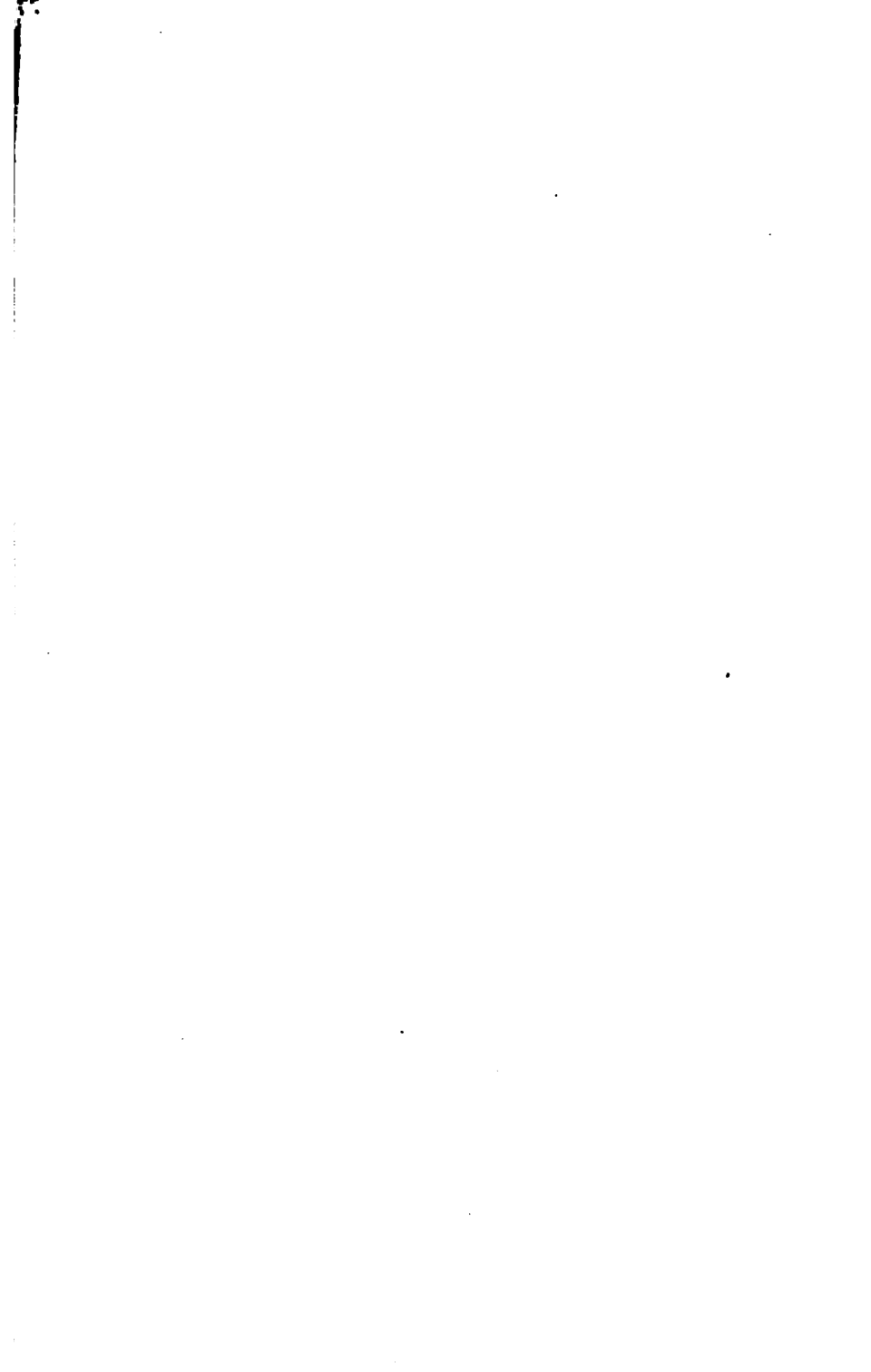
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**THE**

**AMERICAN**

**QUARTERLY OBSERVER.**

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**VOL. II.**

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**BOSTON:**  
**PERKINS & MARVIN, 114, WASHINGTON STREET.**

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**1834.**

## CONTENTS.

### VIII. DANA'S POETRY, . . . . . 149

By E. C. TRACY, Boston, Mass.

Poems and Prose Writings. By Richard H. Dana.

### IX. CRITICAL NOTICES, . . . . . 163

1. Nubia and Abyssinia.
2. Women of Persia.
3. President Dwight's Decisions.
4. Norton's Poems.
5. Van Diemen's Land.
6. Hints on the Evidences of Christianity.
7. Missionary Sermons.
8. Grant Thorburn.
9. Manly Piety.
10. Old Jersey Captive.
11. Life of Friedrich Schiller.
12. Memoirs of Baron Cuvier.
13. Annals of Education.
14. Temperance Magazine.
15. Porter's Lecture.
16. Flint's Geography.
17. American Almanac.
18. Hebrew Poetry.
19. Frothingham's Lecture.
20. Report of the American Board.
21. Infirmities of Genius.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE, . . . . . 182

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, . . . . . 185

OBITUARY NOTICES, . . . . . 192

# QUARTERLY OBSERVER.

No. III.

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JANUARY, 1834.

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ARTICLE I.\*

## CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

WE confide in the ultimate triumph of truth and virtue on the earth. Surprising misconceptions, strong prejudices, bewildering illusions, and even the claims of pride and interest may all be dragged as captives at the chariot-wheels of truth, and justice, and benevolence. The world has recently seen such triumphs. It will behold still greater.

Among the subjects, which are intimately connected with literature and science, there is one, which has also most important relations to government and to social and individual happiness, and which involves in it topics of thrilling interest and overwhelming sublimity. And, as this subject has not recently, if at any time, engaged our attention in our literary convocations, I have thought, that I would venture to introduce it before the brethren of this society. I wish to summon all the intelligent minds in this assembly,—the minds of delicacy and refinement, as well as those of power,—to the work of disenchanting the community and the world of a strange and disastrous delusion, which still holds sway over the unhappy race of man. Need I mention as my subject the word WAR,—the substratum of history—the burden of song—and yet the general crime and greatest curse of man upon the earth?

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\* This article was delivered by president Allen, as an Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Bowdoin college, Sept. 5, 1833.

I may assert very safely, that there is no one natural evil, by which the unhappy race of man is afflicted, so ruinous in its effects as war : not the hurricane, nor the earthquake, nor the plague is so disastrous and overwhelming to the different nations, as their mutual contests. Nor is there any one moral evil, not even intemperance, so desolating to mankind.

To prevent misapprehension I would remark, that in respect to the right of a strictly defensive war, as the repulsion of an invading foe, there seems to be no more reason to doubt, than in respect to the right of executing a pirate and murderer. The sword of the magistrate is not to be confined to evil-doers of the community, over which he rules, but may, with the same reason, strike the evil-doers, who come from abroad.

With this admission as to an unavoidable, defensive war, let us now look for a moment at the bearing of wars on national *interest* and national *happiness*.

If we consider national interest as consisting in the greatest happiness of the greatest number, we may perceive, that wars are destructive in various ways to this interest.

1. *The immense destruction of human agency is to be taken into the account.*

It is a settled principle in political economy, that human industry produces wealth. "Labor was the first price, the original purchase-money, that was paid for all things."—"It is to labor, and to labor only, that man owes every thing, possessed of exchangeable value. Labor is the talisman, that has raised him from the condition of the savage, that has changed the desert and the forest into cultivated fields, that has covered the earth with cities and the ocean with ships, that has given us plenty, comfort, and elegance, instead of want, misery, and barbarism."—Thus speak the masters in political economy.

As all values are then the products of human labor, the greater the number of laborers, the greater is the wealth, which may be produced. No nation has yet found the limits of a useful population. If in some countries those limits seem to be passed, it is because unwise political arrangements exclude many from the productive industry, in which they might be employed. They might till the unnumbered acres of proud forests, and idle, luxurious fields around them: at least, the world has many an uncultured spot, where their toils would be rewarded. Human agents for the production

of wealth are still wanted in Europe ; and the world longs for millions of an industrious and virtuous population, to be added to its numbers.

But war sweeps away these laborers, these producers of wealth. It selects for its victims the most vigorous and active, and drags them from the smiling vintage and the joyous harvest-field to the field of battle and of death. The untilled ground grows up to weeds, and the noise of the busy workshop is silent. The whole depopulated land mourns.

Of how many battles do we read, in which forty or fifty thousand men have fallen ? How often has an army of one hundred thousand men been consumed in a campaign ? Who is ignorant, that in the expedition of Napoleon into Russia, half a million of men perished ? When the flower and vigor of France were thus destroyed, the labors of the field and of the workshop were performed by females and by old men and children, until a new race grew up to supply the waste of war.

But this loss of life, occasioned by ambitious heroes and blood-thirsty tyrants, is not to be reckoned by thousands. There have been several men, as Julius Cæsar, Genghis-Khan, Tamerlane, and Napoleon, to whom the amazing eminence must be ascribed of having caused the destruction of millions of their species. Is there a man of blood, who stands on a higher pinnacle than they ? That man is the ferocious bigot, Philip II. of Spain, who died in 1598, and who confessed in his last will, that " he had sacrificed twenty millions of men to his lust of dominion, and laid more countries waste, than all he owned in Europe."

2. *The destruction of wealth*, which is ever the accompaniment of wars, swells the amount of national injury, caused by the loss of life. A soldier produces nothing ; yet must he be paid wages out of the products of the industrious. He must also be fed, and clothed, and equipped at their expense ; and from the same source must be furnished all the costly materials of warfare. Let the affair be disguised as it may, the laboring people must always pay the expenses of war.

The late American war of only three years, cost one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. But this sum is a trifle, compared with the expenses of wars in other countries. The wars of Great Britain in the year 1815, cost two hun-



dred and forty millions of dollars. The wars of France and Great Britain, from 1793 to 1815, a period of twenty-two years, cost each country about three thousand millions of dollars ; and the whole cost of the wars of those twenty-two years, among the nations which are called Christian, has been estimated at twelve thousand millions of dollars. Who can comprehend the bearing of this immense loss on national happiness ? Who can measure the extent of works of internal improvement, which this amount, thrown away in war, might have constructed ;—the wants, it might have supplied ;—the anxieties and pangs, it might have removed ;—and the tide of joy, it might have poured through the hearts of millions of wretched human beings ?

Besides this direct cost of wars, there is to be considered also the destruction of wealth in the trampled corn-field, the ruined village, and the plundered and burning city.

3. Wars are prejudicial to national happiness, not only by the destruction of human agency and wealth, but also by the *miseries*, which they occasion to the immediate victims and their friends, and the *immoralities* and *crimes*, of which they are the cause.

The proud statesman may think little of the anguish of the bleeding soldier, stretched upon the field of battle ; but every such man is one of a nation, and his misery is a part of the sum of national misery. Besides, then, the thousands who are instantaneously killed, with no calm moment of preparation for eternity ; there are other thousands, who survive for a longer or shorter time with horrible wounds and mangled limbs :—Some of the crippled and helpless, as the wave of battle rushes to and fro, are trodden down by the hoofs of the war-horse, or crushed beneath the wheels of the artillery. Extended on the cold ground, burning with a fierce thirst, and overwhelmed with the severity of pain from undressed wounds—how many think of their far distant home, and of the wife, the sisters, or the children, who cannot soothe them by sympathy, nor alleviate their misery by kind attentions ? How many linger a few weeks in torture, cursing the mad ambition of their leader or their own folly, and then sink down into death ?

During Wellington's war against the French, while in pursuit of the retreating enemy, a British officer arrived at Miranda Cervo in Portugal. Meeting a haggard-looking woman in the street, she told him he would find comfortable

accommodation in an old convent, to which she pointed, little distance, "and you will find," said she, "nobody ~~there~~ to disturb you." He immediately went to the place, and, walking up a long flight of stairs, entered the convent, when he beheld, sitting and lying before him, a hundred human beings, some with their eyes looking upon him with a fixed gaze, but all *dead*. It was an abandoned hospital. Every face was bloodless, agonized, and horrid. These were the corpses of sick and wounded soldiers. Such were they, who, as the officer was told, "would not trouble him."

Repair now to the home of the victims of war, and witness the anguish of bereaved relatives; and then say, whether war, which causes mourning through a whole land, is not an incalculable national evil?

In all the exploits of Wellington, there is nothing so truly honorable, as the letter which he wrote after the battle of Waterloo;—in which he said—to a father, whose son had fallen—"I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow, with which I contemplate the losses the country and the service have sustained.—The glory, resulting from actions so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot imagine, that it is any to you."

In connection with the *miseries* of war, its *immoralities* ought also to be considered. A virtuous population is the glory of a country; but war corrupts the surviving soldiers, and, when they return to their firesides, they bring back pollution and wretchedness with them. And this, however overlooked it may be by statesmen, is a still greater evil than the destruction of life and property. All government is for the benefit of individuals; and individuals cannot be happy without a principle of virtue. Exemption from want and the possession of wealth are nothing compared with this. A corrupt people is contemptible and miserable. A corrupt people is a fit tool for a tyrant. But it is the certain, necessary effect of war to spread a corrupting influence through the community. Men of plunder and men of blood cannot be expected to be very nice in their moral distinctions. The indulgence of the malignant and ferocious passions and of eager appetites amidst the license of war, creates, or strengthens evil habits; and the iniquity, which is thus brought into families, spreads itself and transmits itself to a new generation, producing new harvests of pollution and misery. And as this corruption may abide with the char-

acter after this life, attended by wretchedness, he, who can fathom eternity, can calculate the evil of war.

But, admitting that war is a great and incalculable evil, there are those, who consider it as unavoidable and necessary, and therefore will make no efforts to resist the inevitable doom of our species. An illustrious man, the second president of our country, has said this—that experience had convinced him, “that wars are necessary, and as inevitable, in our system, as hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanoes.” But, if wars depend on the will of man; then they are not necessary and inevitable, like events which are beyond human control and which result from the established laws of nature. Wars are obviously no more necessary, than adulteries, thefts, duels, and assassinations.

In a despotic government, when one man wields an irresistible power, he may wage war, so long as his terrified subjects submit to his authority; so long as his instruments of fight work his will. But in a free government, like ours, the remedy for war is in the hands of the people. Public opinion will govern. Let the people detest war, and their representatives, and agents, and servants will avoid war. Let public opinion be correct in one part of the country, and it may turn the decisive vote, which settles the question of peace and war, and involves the happiness of thousands in time and for eternity.

But, let us listen for a moment to some more particular defences of war and objections to the project of universal peace.

First, it may be said, that *without the check of wars the world would soon be burdened by a population too numerous to be supported.* But if war is a crime, resulting from the will of man—always a crime, on the one side at least—then there is no reason nor virtue in promoting it, nor in acquiescing in it, while it is preventable. Assuredly it is not our province to provide against the contingency of too many inhabitants on the earth. As well might the corporation of London hire a body of assassins to thin off its crowded citizens. Let us leave the yet future disaster of an overstocked world to the wisdom and providence of its Creator.

Next, it may be said, that *wars always have been and therefore always will be.* But is the long duration of an evil any reason for rendering it perpetual, or for despairing of its removal? Slavery has always existed: shall we then

sit down and make no efforts for breaking from miserable slaves the yoke of bondage? There have always been tyrants: shall the struggle for liberty be therefore relinquished? A dark cloud of ignorance has always settled over the human race: shall we therefore make no attempts to send a strong light into this darkness? The world has always been addicted to the excitement of intoxicating drinks: shall therefore the cause of temperance be abandoned? Because then men have always been accustomed to cut each others' throats, shall we think it useless to endeavor to convince them, that it were wiser and more benevolent to abstain? Milton argued against this custom, and doubtless in the hope of convincing the mind of some lover of war.—

“They err, who count it glorious to subdue  
By conquest far and wide, to overrun  
Large countries, and in field great battles win,  
Great cities by assault. What do these worthies,  
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and inslave  
Peaceable nations, neighboring, or remote,  
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more,  
Than those, their conquerors, who leave behind  
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,  
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy;  
Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,  
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,  
Worship'd with temple, priest, and sacrifice;  
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;  
Till conqueror death discover them scarce men,  
Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,  
Violent or shameful death their due reward.”

Perhaps it will be said, that the Christian religion, as expounded by learned writers on national law, *tolerates wars*. But their distinction of wars as just and unjust should not be overlooked. Let it be, that the right of self-defence against unjust attack, is not abrogated by the gospel; yet it is obvious, that every war is unjust on the one side or the other, and that the waging of an unjust war is a great crime. It is undeniable also, that, if the gospel was universally obeyed, there could be no wars. Let us read a few passages of our Scriptures.—“Thou shalt not kill.” Can this mean, that the ruler shall not poison his wife nor stab his son, but that he may march his troops and plunge their bayonets into the breasts of a hundred thousand of his brethren in a neighboring country?—“From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts,

which war in your members?" And does the gospel then tolerate the malignant passions, which are the parents of wars?—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Every one of us shall give account of himself unto God." "No murderer hath eternal life." "Unto them, that do evil, God will render indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish."—Is the ruler, the monarch, the emperor exempted from the force of these precepts? If he is constituted a beneficent minister of God for the good of man; is it in the fulfilment of his office, and in obedience to Scripture, that he overwhelms his subjects with the crushing miseries of war?

Some may assert, that it is the *prevalence of the gospel*, and nothing else, which will cure the evil of war; and therefore, that no special and combined efforts should be made to remedy the disaster, and that we should limit ourselves to the spreading of the religion of Christ.

Surely the Christian religion is the grand remedy for all the crimes of man; but then the same objection would lie against the temperance associations and all philanthropic societies; and we should, for the same reason, tell all men, who are thus combined, to disband their unions, and never to act in concert, except for the direct object of spreading the gospel. The true principle is this, that union gives strength, and that every combination is good, which aims at the promotion of an object in accordance with the spirit of the gospel.

In this point of view, enlightened reason must approve of the *Peace Societies*, designed to influence public opinion, so as to exterminate wars. The project has been brought forward to establish a *Grand Council of Nations* for the settlement of national controversies; and is not the project a good one and most important?

In a civilized community, when two individuals have a controversy concerning some alleged right, they do not undertake to settle the controversy with the fist, or a dirk, or a spear, or a rifle; but they submit it to the decision of twelve of their neighbors as jurymen. The *rulers* of nations are but men; and, if they claim to be civilized, why should they be barbarians and settle their controversies with the musket and bayonet, the sword and the cannon?

There is evidently wanting a closer society amongst nations, a more intimate bond of union, a fixed and acknowledged method of determining the controversies, which may

spring up. The resort of war indicates a condition of barbarism in the intercommunity of nations. For, let it be asked, what are nations but collections of individuals, deriving their character, rank, celebrity and power from individuals, and governed too by individual men in authority? In the savage condition of man, before civilization imparts its blessings, and before fixed law takes the place of ever-varying passion and personal will, a private hand is the avenger of wrongs; and of course the avengement is unregulated, and may be unequal and disproportionate; and against the occurrence of wrongs there is no protection, except in one's own right hand. But, on the establishment of society, wrongs are defined; the scale of punishment is held up before the public eye; the course of justice is prescribed, and the ministers of justice are appointed. A sacred code of law is instituted, uniting these regulated individuals to the great system of the universe, which is governed by law. He who oversteps the sacred boundaries of law, whether impelled by the vehemence of his passions, or in the proud consciousness of superior reason adopting new rules for his own conduct, finds himself at war with the whole community, and is recalled from his error by public opinion and by the public arm, and subjected to the same common rule, by which men of inferior intellect are bound, and which is the guardian of rights and the preservative of order.

But civilized *nations*, although thus enjoying all the advantages of law in their internal concerns, yet in their intercourse with each other have no law, and are mere barbarians. For certainly what is called the *law of nations* hardly deserves the name of law, inasmuch as the principles of the code are yet unsettled, and the public voice of nations does not enforce it. *Treaties* deserve not the name of law, because, in the experience of the world, they have come to be regarded only as breathing times of exhausted combatants, awaiting the renewal of their vigor for a more deadly struggle.

While nations in their bearing upon each other are exempted from the rules and guidance of law, what wonder is it, that they should jostle with each other, and that all the internal advantages of law should at such moments of concussion be countervailed and destroyed? What, if the parts of each planetary world are ever so nicely adjusted, and every satellite walks undeviatingly in the prescribed aerial path? Yet, if in the relation of these worlds to each other

there is no adjustment ; if the force of law does not bind together all these worlds, connecting them in one grand system ; if they are liable to rush against each other ; then, in the shock of such a contact, all the interior order, which had subsisted, will be subverted and destroyed forever. There must be an all-pervading law, or the benefits of law will be precarious.

How can nations be under the governance of public law, when each is a judge in his own cause ;—when there is no grand court of national justice ;—no established rule of arbitrement ;—no sacred hall of justice ;—no seated and venerable judges ;—no appointed impleaders and recorders ;—no original contract, and solemn, mutual agreement to abide by the decision ?

Nations, then, in regard to their present intercourse with each other, are uncivilized and barbarous ; and even the amazing phenomenon is presented of the same nation punishing with death one of its citizens for a private combat, while itself rushes unreprieved into a public war, by which thousands of citizens are miserably destroyed, and other thousands left desolate of property and desolate of heart. If the affairs of nations are governed by men ; why should not those men, as in private affairs, have settled rules to govern them, in order to accomplish the ends, which only are worthy of regard by the servants of the supreme ruler—the administration of justice and the promotion of good ? If the idea of right is forgotten, and the whole aim is selfish interest, partial aggrandizement, exclusive prerogative or honor ;—then it is time to re-assert the fact and repeat the warning, that the community of nations cannot thrive, any more than that of individuals, by narrow counsels and the allowed sway of unrighteousness ; and that God will again mark, as he has ever marked, with his signal displeasure in this world, the crimes of nations, as he will punish in the future world the unforsaken vices of individuals.

Can we doubt, whether He has punished, and remarkably punished national guilt ? Is it asked—where are the monuments of these judgments of heaven upon the guilty ? Go, then, and gaze upon the ruins of some ancient city of idolatry, and war, and crime, as mighty Nineveh, or proud Babylon, or Palmyra in the desert, or Athens the polished seat of idolatry ;—survey the broken and prostrate columns, the confused fragments of glittering palaces and magnificent

temples all lying low in the dust,—the roofless wall and the remnants of a long colonnade, where now “the stork” makes her nest;—see “thorns springing up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof,”—“the glorious city become a habitation for dragons, and a court for owls,”—“the rejoicing city become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in;”—go and meditate upon the grave of such a city, and you will hear a voice issuing from the remains of desolated magnificence and departed glory, saying to the world—“God is just”:—thus shall the guilty nations “be swept with the besom of destruction.” And when we survey the self-inflicted evils of war, we shall regard every warring nation as a scorpion, shut in a circle of fire, which wounds indeed all it meets, but at last plunges its fatal sting into its own head, and dies.

Against this project for securing the peace of the world there are indeed formidable adversaries, yet not invincible ones. The pride of sovereigns, revolting at the submission of a controversy, in which they are concerned, to any other tribunal than their own self-sufficient will;—the greedy appetite for the acquisition of a new territory, which would add a new jewel to the crown of empire;—the insatiable covetousness of the multitude, who profit by the operations of war, by rewards, by contracts, and by plunder;—the fierce ambition, which by great exploits wins for itself distinction, wealth, and power;—these are some of the combatants, that must be routed or disarmed, before a council of nations is likely to be established, whose arbitrement shall be a substitute for the judgment of war. But these enemies of peace, in the progress of events in the world, are already half repulsed. Who is not aware, that within a few years several of the old monarchies of Europe have been compelled to respect the voice of the people, crying out for their long violated rights? Now, let the people be only taught, and they will infallibly be soon taught, that war is a terrible game of a few proud and ambitious men, of which the people are the pitiable dupes and miserable victims;—let the people see that it is their sweat and blood which is the nourishment of war—that they are made the murderers of each other for six pence or a shilling a day—and that their wounds and death, and the penury, and the wretchedness, and the perdition of their families are the purchase of a victory for their commander; and they will begin to say, that “war is a



game," kings and rulers shall *not* play at ;—they will demand an arbitration for disputes instead of war, a council of nations instead of a confederacy of murderers.

Nor is the project of a *court of nations*, which has been ably advocated by a citizen of our own State, a respected brother\* of this society, to be deemed an inapplicable theory—the dream of an unpractised, impolitic benevolence—the vision of a mind not conversant with men on the earth.

It is practicable for nations thus to adjust their difficulties, because history presents us with several instances of such a diet or congress. The states of Greece were united in the *Amphictyonic* council, designed to provide for the settlement of disputes and the general tranquillity ; and the union continued for ages. The *diet* of the old German empire was a congress of states, holding the rights of war and peace ; and there is now a similar Germanic confederation, in which between thirty and forty monarchical states and free cities are represented in a diet.

Another instance of such a congress is found in the combined *Cantons of Switzerland*, which maintained their confederacy five hundred years, and, although thirteen in number, and differing in language and religion, preserved peace among themselves.

The *United Provinces* of Holland also provided for the settlement of disputes in the same way. This congress lasted two hundred years.

And what is the *Union of the States* in our own country but a congress of different limited sovereignties? And this congress has as yet preserved peace among the members of the confederacy more than forty years, and will preserve it until the principles of the Union shall be forgotten, and the madness of resistance and rebellion shall seize upon some of the States.

Besides, after the horrors of a bloody war, what are those assemblages of men, who agree upon the terms of a general peace, but a *congress of nations*? And how much wiser would it have been, had the congress preceded instead of followed the war? We all look with ineffable scorn upon the duellists, who, after they have fired at each other, and the one has gained a shattered leg and the other received a bullet through his shoulder, shake hands cordially, and say, they

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\* William Ladd, Esq.

are reconciled, and agree thereafter to treat each other with respect. We ask, why could not the wise heroes have been as well reconciled, before they had made themselves cripples?

In the history of our own country, a controversy respecting the eastern boundary was, in accordance with solemn treaty, referred to arbitrement, instead of being decided by war. But suppose the question, instead of being referred to a single arbiter, had been referred to an impartial, established council for settling such disputes;—might not the decision have been more satisfactory, especially to the party which may suffer unjustly a loss of territory by the award?

The scheme, then, of a *Congress of Nations* is practicable. Nor does there seem to be any other human remedy for the evil of war. When such a project, not however wisely constructed, was brought forward in France, about a century ago, by the abbé St. Pierre, cardinal Fleury said to him—‘you have forgotten one preliminary article in your scheme; the commencing with sending a sufficient corps of missionaries to dispose the hearts and minds of the several potentates of Europe to accept it.’

But these missionaries are found in the progress of science and religion;—in the new and wonderful progress of the one science of political economy, which exactly weighs in its scales the losses of war;—in the spirit of inquiry and the increase of education among the people;—in the far wider diffusion, than ever before, of the Scriptures, the knowledge and observance of which will terminate wars;—in the extending influence and growth of societies for the promotion of peace;—in a word, in the force of *public opinion*, which is every day settling down into a stern conviction, that the race of immortal man was not made to be the dupes, and implements, and victims of a few crowned or uncrowned prize-fighters. These missionaries can hardly fail to bring the governors of the world to acquiesce in the project of a perpetual peace.

Shall we not, as men of intelligence and humanity, add our voices to the voices of the enemies of war? Though we should not absolutely think with Franklin, “that there never was a good war nor a bad peace”; yet we may see the force of his remarks, made in the midst of the revolutionary contest,—“We daily make improvements in *natural*—there is one I wish to see in *moral* philosophy;—the *discovery of a plan*, that would induce and oblige nations to

settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this?"

Why, in England, are the people ground down to the dust by heavy taxes on every article of consumption, and even on the light of heaven in the shape of a tax on windows? It is because their rulers have been men who have *delighted in war*. Will it be deemed credible, that during the reign of George III. three thousand millions of dollars were added to the national debt of Great Britain? Yet such was the fact. And what may overwhelm us with still greater astonishment, during the twelve years' war against Buonaparte, from 1803 to 1815, the British expended more than four thousand millions of dollars, most of which was strictly a war expenditure.

It is known, that the states of Europe keep up in peace an army of nearly two millions of soldiers, and in war an army of four millions and a half—at an annual cost of four hundred millions of dollars in peace, and nine hundred millions in war. It is a moderate estimate, that on an average five hundred millions of dollars are every year expended in Europe for war. Were this money employed in the promotion of learning, it would pour a flood of light upon the darkness of the human intellect. Were it employed in charity, it would dissipate all want and make every wretched child of misfortune and poverty happy. Were it expended for the purposes of religion, it would be sufficient in one year to put the Bible into the hand of every individual of the human family.

If the five states of Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia, would disband their array for war, they would save an annual expense of four hundred millions of dollars,—for such in those five states only is the annual tax of war, drawn from the sweat and misery of the poor, oppressed people.

As in all countries the voice of the people makes itself heard more or less distinctly in the ears of their rulers, and their strong wishes have an influence on the measures of government; let the *People* seriously consider, whether they have not been long enough the dupes and the victims of the spirit of war?—They are the fighters—the murderers of each other. Their wounds and blood are the instruments, by which mighty warriors win for themselves loud applauses and recorded honor. A host of contractors and agents fatten

on their privations, hardships, and misery. They leave the sweets of home, their prattling children, and cheerful fire-side, for a long and weary march; and, when they have reached the field of battle, they sink down in a wretched death, cursing the mad ambition which has lured them or dragged them to their ruin.

I say, let the people consider, whether they will sacrifice the happiness of their families, and themselves, soul and body, to a spirit of revenge, or a spirit of covetousness, or a spirit of ambition, in some great man, who is intrusted with authority solely for their good, and not for their ruin? Or, whether they will instruct their rulers to refer national disputes to a national court? Will they consent to be any longer the "honorable ruffians," described by Thomson in his bitter lines of truth?

"But what most show'd the vanity of life  
Was to behold the nations all on fire,  
In cruel broils engaged and deadly strife:  
Most Christian kings, inflam'd by black desire,  
With honorable ruffians in their hire,  
Cause war to rage, and blood around to pour:—  
Of this sad work, when each begins to tire,  
They sit them down just where they were before,  
Till for new scenes of wo peace shall their force restore."

Why is it, that this horrible custom of war has prevailed in every age? Man seems to be doomed to be the sport of illusions. Endowed with a quick and creative fancy, and with strong passions, and these excited powerfully long before the benefits of reason are enjoyed—he is early misled by his imagination and his heart. Chains are cast upon his mind, from which it is difficult to break free. The exertions of giant force awaken a deep interest, as do also scenes of great peril, especially if united with the sublime strife of the elements. We early acquire the love of strong excitement, of thrilling, overbearing emotions. Perhaps also a misdirected education has lent its aid to this work of mischief, leading us early to admire what is great, rather than what is good. Hence the charm of war in description, and hence its allurements in reality, especially to such, as may participate in its sublimities with less of hazard, than is encountered by the common soldier, and with a great and splendid prize in case of victory.

Warriors have ever been celebrated in song. Song has been in every age the minstrel of war. The first great poem

of Homer is completely a war-poem. What is its moral? That *discord* is a great evil! But while Achilles says, "O perish discord," and returns again to the fight, from which in his anger he has kept aloof, he says, that he will win immortal glory by revenge and by bringing grief to many a Trojan mother and wife. Thus revenge and murder are recommended by the same teacher, who speaks of the evil of discord. It had been well for the world, if this *harmony* in the work of slaughter had not been commended by the poet. The primitive hero of song—the archetype of a host of heroes, recorded in history—was Achilles, stern, unrelenting, ferocious, inhuman—who hews in pieces a poor wretch, while clasping his knees and suing for pity—and who at his chariot wheels drags through the dust the body of Hector, his head ploughing the sand and his sable locks sweeping the ground.

The second poem of Homer owes its chief interest also to war; and in the catastrophe we see the host of suitors falling by the arrows, and the spear, and the sword of Ulysses and his son:—

——— "with hideous groans  
The palace rang; the pavement foam'd with blood."

Almost all the company perish, excepting Phemius, the bard; and he escaped, because he was the bard of war, and had sung the warlike exploits of the wanderer:

"And thou hast heard me chaunting to the lyre  
Thy glorious deeds, as I had prais'd a god!"

No wonder, that this flattery saved the head of the minstrel. The same commendation of war has saved the reputation and constituted the chief merit of many a poet in subsequent ages. Even the freshest poet of Scotland, sings in the name of the northern warrior, and in the demoniac spirit of all warriors,—

"The music, I love, is  
The shout of the brave,  
The yell of the dying,  
The scream of the flying,  
When this arm wields Death's sickle,  
And garners the grave."

It is time, that the illusions of war, however they may originate, were scattered from before the eyes of rational and

immortal beings. The earth is sick of beholding poor, deluded men sending up shouts to heaven, because they see one of their fellows deal the heaviest blow with his fist, or guide his spear with the truest aim, or hurl the heaviest stone, or cut the deepest gash with his sword, or issue to his fighters orders, which result in victory over other fighters.

Better days are dawning upon the world ;—days of reason, days of peace. Our own Washington has said in language which ought to suppress in the heart of every American citizen the love of war—"How much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain glory which can be acquired from ravaging it by the most uninterrupted career of conquest?" It is a matter of gratulation, that at the present day some of the most illustrious warriors and statesmen have a distinct discernment of the evils of war. The great warrior of England has recently described war "as inexpedient and cruel." And the very learned and eminent Henry Brougham, chancellor of England, has spoken such words on this subject, that I cannot forbear reciting them :—"But my principles," he says, "they may be derided, they may be unfashionable, but I hope they are spreading far and wide :—my principles are summed up in one word, which was often uttered by a noble patriot, '*peace, peace, peace.*' I abominate war as unchristian. I hold it to be the greatest of human crimes. I deem it to include all others, violence, blood, rapine, fraud ; every thing, which can deform the character, alter the nature, and debase the name of man." Such is the decisive testimony against war, of a man, who stands among the first of living scholars, lawyers, and statesmen. Indeed it is beyond the power of the imagination to conceive the mass of enormous crimes and desolating miseries, which war has occasioned on the earth.

Edmund Burke computed, that seventy times the number of the present inhabitants of this globe have been murdered in wars or perished from that cause. But if we greatly reduce this amount, dividing it by seventy, and take the lowest computation of the inhabitants of the earth, we shall yet have five hundred millions of human beings destroyed by war. A solitary murder in our country awakens a general sentiment of horror. But war—of which we think but slightly—war, which it is in the power of public opinion and combined effort to put down completely, has committed *five*

*hundred millions* of murders; and this too, when every drop of human blood, iniquitously shed, cries from the earth and cries to heaven for vengeance.

It is a fact, involving a tremendous responsibility, that one half the sums, which our comparatively innocent country has expended, and still every year expends, in relation to the business of war, for naval and military purposes, would accomplish all the various schemes of philanthropy, the accomplishment of which would send streams of felicity into every nook of our widely extended country. Our annual estimate for the naval and military establishments is upwards of ten millions of dollars and for the civil establishment about three millions; so that we expend for every free inhabitant in our country one dollar for war in these times of peace, while for the expenses of our general civil government we expend less than one third of a dollar.

Is slavery a tremendous evil? The sums expended and the losses sustained in the three years' war for the liberty of a few seamen, would be sufficient to purchase the freedom of all the slaves in America, at the price paid for a good horse. Do we need great improvements in canals and rail roads? Do the people need schools and higher seminaries, Bibles and preachers? The sums devoted to war, would bring a market to every man's door—would give a good education to all the children of the people—would put a Bible into every poor man's hand—and cause the preacher's voice to be heard in every village from our eastern border to the rocky mountains of the west.

If the nations should form the happy alliance of peace, and settle down into a state of unapprehensive quietness, the progress of improvement will be rapid and amazing. The enormous expenses for wars and for naval and military preparations in times of peace, which exhaust the resources of all countries, and overwhelm most of them with an intolerable load of debt, will be superseded and done away. The winged castles of the sea may fold up their wings, for their costly flight will be over. The huge and lofty fortresses of the land will cease to be inhabited by desperate men, and may be suffered to moulder quietly away, unproped by the toil and miseries of thousands of the people. The heavy cannon, which were wont to scatter the shafts of death, may be cast anew into ploughshares for the unbloody tillage of the earth. Released from the extortions of burdensome

taxes, so far as the acquisition of competence or wealth is a blessing, men will be blessed. The ample and easy provision for their bodily wants will give them leisure for intellectual and moral culture. In the enjoyment of unbroken peace, released from the dominion of the evil passions, which are excited by the spirit of war, their minds will be open to the sweet influences of the religion of truth and of love. Then shall come the kingdom of "the Prince of peace," under whose reign "garments will no longer be rolled in blood," the tumult of the battle-field shall cease to be heard, and all the nations shall dwell together, as brethren of one family, in sincerest affection and friendship. Then, on this establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, may be sung again, with a little change, the great poet's hymn on the nativity,—

"No war or battle's sound  
Is heard the world around;  
The idle shield and spear are high uphung,  
The trumpet speaks not to the armed throng;  
And kings sit still with awful eye,  
As if they surely know, their sovereign Lord is by."

When we consider the trivial and even ridiculous causes, in which many, and the wicked passions with which most wars have originated;—the frequent, total failure of the object, for which they were waged;—the enormous expenses, the exactions, the oppressions, the general distress which they have occasioned;—the horrible sufferings of the victims of fight, the wounds, the agonies, the death of the millions who have fallen;—we shall have reason to be overwhelmed with astonishment at the strange delusion of intelligent and Christian men in not setting themselves to exterminate from the earth this greatest of all crimes and evils, with which the earth is laid waste,—more especially as in Christian countries public opinion may be enlightened and will be able to apply the remedy.

Questionless the time is hastening on, when men will look back upon days of war with indescribable emotions of astonishment and horror, wondering by what demoniac frenzy their brethren were instigated, that they should array themselves against each other in battle, and deal about destruction with every instrument of death, and send each other's spirits into eternity to the judgment seat, while burning with malignity and rage.

As Christian men, who believe the sure word of prophecy;



as enlightened and benevolent men, who confide in the ultimate triumph of common sense and good principles over absurdity and disastrous crimes; and as associates, who deem *philosophy the guide of life*, and keep in view the philosophical maxims, that the *means are necessary to the end*, and that *moral changes amongst men must be effected by the toils of men*, let us be persuaded to exert what influence we may possess in the community, in discountenancing the horrible custom of war and promoting the reign of peace, with which are connected the progress of good learning, the felicity of families, the advancement of social happiness, the growth and improvement of nations, and the perfection and glory of the human race.

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## ARTICLE II.

### IMPORTANCE OF TEACHING SCIENCE TO THE HEATHEN IN CONNECTION WITH CHRISTIANITY.

THAT missionaries in their labors among the heathen, should confine themselves to giving religious instruction, is perhaps a common opinion. The commission, it is said, is to preach the gospel; the apostles restricted themselves to that service; and Paul, in his missionary labors, determined to know nothing but Jesus and him crucified. But this commission and the example of the apostles no more concern missionaries abroad, than they do ministers at home. They no more furnish an objection to missionary societies and missionaries taking large views and forming comprehensive plans for the improvement of heathen nations, than they do to churches and ministers taking such views and forming such plans for the benefit of Christian nations. The God of heaven thinks far less of national boundaries than we do, whether they be mountains, rivers, or oceans. Nothing is commanded, nothing forbidden by the last injunction of Christ, which is not equally applicable to all nations of every

language, color, and condition. Indeed the mandate to "publish the gospel to every creature," not only makes it the duty of the church to include the greatest possible number of objects within the range of its benevolence, but requires the work to be performed in that manner which will render the gospel the perpetual inheritance of all mankind.

We should also remember, that the labors of the apostles, so far as they are recorded in the New Testament, were expended upon the most enlightened portions of the then civilized world ; so that they were generally able to find men among their converts of sufficient education to be ordained both as evangelists and pastors ; and besides, important miraculous gifts were frequently imparted in that age. Hence there was not that necessity for schools and seminaries in their field of missionary labor, that there is in ours. Moreover, as the apostles had, on the one hand, less need of such institutions to furnish pastors and teachers for their churches ; so, on the other, there was far less opportunity and inducement to establish schools for the mass of the people, than there is at this day. And the mass of the people were not educated—were not even taught reading and writing ; and hence one of the principal reasons why the glory of the church was so soon obscured by superstition. How could the great body of the people be educated, when miracles had ceased, when writing-paper was unknown, and there was no printing-press, no art of engraving for cuts and maps ; when books were made only by the slow and arduous labors of the pen, and were costly and rare because written on materials so expensive as vellum or parchment ? And what inducements had the people to learn, with such a scarcity of books, and, at the same time, with hardly any science adapted to general use ? We are, perhaps, not sufficiently aware how greatly the subjects of useful knowledge have been multiplied, and how they have been brought down to common apprehension and the interest of an elementary education increased, since the days of the apostles. How little, how very little was known in those times concerning God's workmanship in creation ! They knew not even that the earth is a sphere, and were unacquainted with the greater part of its surface. They had no compass, no quadrant, no telescope ; no correct conception, no enlarged views of astronomy ; and hardly any knowledge of those other interesting departments of natural science, the principles of which are so generally taught at

the present day. And great numbers of valuable facts and principles that were known, were scattered and insulated, and not formed into a science and prepared for the use of the teacher and pupil, until many ages afterwards.

The circumstances of the apostles, and of the other missionaries of the primitive church, were, therefore, very different from ours; and, on the whole, much less favorable to the permanent influence of their labors.

The object of modern missions, and that at which we suppose the Lord Jesus requires all missionary societies to aim, is this;—*to form, with the divine aid, enlightened Christian communities in every part of the unevangelized world.* And let it be remembered, that such communities may exist when but a small proportion of a people are actually converted to God. We might illustrate this by referring to our own community, where the church is a ‘little flock’ in comparison with the whole population. But we choose rather to instance a case in point, which we find in a recent account of missions in South Africa.—The Griquas are a tribe of about four thousand Africans. When the Christian missionary first went among them, they were in as degraded a state as the Hottentots ever were—ignorant, debased, defenceless, a race of wandering savages. The missionary was obliged to wander with them five years, before he saw any fruit of his labors, or could prevail on them to lay aside their roving habits. At last he succeeded. The people became stationary, built permanent habitations, erected a house of worship, sent their children to school, began to cultivate the ground, became rich in flocks and herds, assumed the character and aspect of a Christian community, took a commanding stand among their savage neighbors, and even received under their efficient protection not less than thirty thousand untutored Bechuanas who were fleeing before a more numerous exterminating foe. In view of these facts, Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London Society’s missions in South Africa, remarks :

“This statement will show, that we are not to estimate the success of the labors of our missionaries by the numbers that are received into Christian fellowship at our missionary stations. The principles upon which our missionaries go, in their admission of converts from among the heathen to the Lord’s table, exclude a large proportion from that ordinance

that would be received under another system. There are not perhaps *one hundred and fifty* Griquas who are admitted to the Lord's supper ; and yet the whole of the people bearing that designation, to the amount of four thousand, have renounced polygamy, bear the Christian name, and discover an acquaintance with Christianity, and have, generally speaking, an outward conduct not less worthy of the gospel of Christ, than any portion of an English or Scotch peasantry of the same extent, in any of the most favored parts of Scotland or England with which I am acquainted."

Notwithstanding the small number connected with the visible church in comparison with the entire people, this is a Christian community ; and in a few years more, if it continues to rise on the scale of social order, intelligence, industry, and piety, it may safely dispense with the labors of missionaries from abroad, and sustain its institutions by native agency alone.

Now, as a means of rearing such communities all over the world, no man has thought too highly of the preaching of the gospel, and especially of those doctrines which most affectingly exhibit the Lord Jesus Christ as the Saviour of lost men. The maxim, that we must civilize men before we can Christianize them, is not countenanced by experience. The belief that such a thing is possible, is opposed by all the facts known to us in these modern times. Commerce demoralizes the savage ; colonies, unaccompanied by Christianity, drive him out of the world. Wo to him when civilization approaches his dwelling-place, and the gospel stands aloof. The fact is, that until the gospel makes an impression on savage man, he is inaccessible to other elevating influences, and nothing can be done without that grand civilizing as well as saving ordinance of heaven—the gospel of Jesus Christ.

But while we properly exalt this class of truths to the high place they ought to hold, we should beware lest we undervalue and depreciate all other truth. The truth that ' Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners,' is the sun in our moral system ; but then there are lesser orbs, and he who made the sun made them. All truth is of God ; and all, when rightly viewed, is seen to relate either to him, or to his works. By whatever name called in the books of human science, all truth is related to God ; and too long has the church overlooked this most important fact, and regarded

truths that were not denominated religious, as in a measure profane. All is an emanation from the Infinite Mind ; and it is time for the church to recognize the inscription of ' Holiness to the Lord,' made by the Creator's hand upon every truth. No matter if it first met our eye in an infidel or pagan author, no matter where or when it was first brought out to human observation, no matter through what mediums it has been transmitted from man to man and from generation to generation ; if it be a *truth*, it has the image and superscription of God, and is a part of that infinite moral system, which God designed for the education and happiness of his intelligent creatures.

And as all truth is related to God, so it would seem that there is a mysterious, but real connection and affinity running through the whole. It would seem, too, that something analogous to this might be affirmed concerning all the varieties of error. And who does not know, that there is a mutual, irreconcilable, universal antipathy and opposition between truth and error of a moral nature ? This mutually repellent influence, however, is not restricted to truths and errors usually denominated moral. The effect of no one error is the same with that of its opposite truth, upon the soul. The natural and general, if not universal tendency of error, is to multiply errors, and of truths, to multiply truths ; so that the two may be regarded as naturally and generally opposed in their influence to each other. Such a view as this attaches an importance to all kinds of truth and error, far greater than we have been accustomed to suppose. The grand controversy which enchains the attention of higher intelligences, is seen to extend itself amazingly. Myriads of truths and errors, which had been thought to be neutral, are beheld on the embattled field. The contest is not of brute force ; but of truth, on the side of the intelligence, holiness, and happiness of the universe, with error, on the side of ignorance, wickedness, and misery. Nor is it merely revealed truth, nor merely that which we call religious truth ; but, as we are ready to believe, all truth. The mind of this world has indeed been thrown into so chaotic a state by its moral convulsions, that truth and error, as exhibited to us, partake of the dire confusion, and it is often hard to distinguish between the two. But after all there is a difference as real and great as between light and darkness, and the homogeneous elements of each have a mutual connection and affinity,

which the philosophic Christian eye may discern whenever the troubled waters are hushed to stillness.

The affinity which runs through the host of errors, as well as the hostile influence of religious error upon truth of all kinds, is illustrated in the history of the world, and in the present state of the unevangelized portions of it.

There are some errors, the introduction of which into the earth has been the bringing of a disastrous eclipse upon the light of truth. Such is polytheism, that fundamental mistake concerning the being of God. This having once been established as a first principle in reasoning, the more men reasoned the more they erred, advancing from polytheism to pantheism, and from pantheism to atheism. So a mistake concerning the creation, tainted all the fountains and streams of metaphysical reasoning. A knowledge and belief of the first verse in the Bible, would have subverted the fundamental errors in all the various systems of pagan philosophy. The fact is, no species of truth has ever found a congenial soil in heathen lands. Let us not be deceived by mistaken notions concerning Greek and Roman antiquity. The lights of classic genius, which shine from those remote periods, appear to us, on account of their distance, like one bright constellation: but they are not, they are few, and in general far between; nor do they magnify into suns, when we approach them, and inquire how much genuine, useful truth they exhibit. An accomplished scholar in our own republic has said, that the excellence of ancient classic writers consists rather in felicity of expression and beauty of style, than in real utility of thought. And certain it is, that the few rays of truth which they individually shed, like fires at midnight upon the mountain tops, did scarcely reach the mass of the people immersed in the heavy mists of the valleys beneath. Where minds did soar in ancient heathen nations, it was in spite of those influences which held the generality of the people in listless inaction.

And it is affecting to observe now, when we travel over the heathen world, how almost all the lights of knowledge have been extinguished, and how those which remain burn faintly as if in a contaminated atmosphere. Religious truth may be said to have entirely disappeared; and by some of the most extensively diffused superstitions, the principles of geography and astronomy are professedly taught, and at the same time utterly falsified. In most heathen countries man is indeed a

savage ; but in those where learning is cultivated, as in India for instance, the researches of scholars from the west have only served to make visible the bewildering darkness of their philosophy. Their chronology, history, geography, astronomy, and all their theories concerning matter and mind, creation and providence, morals and religion, are wonderfully destitute of truth. And so fortified is error in science by error in religion, that true science alone cannot set the mind free in India, not even for scientific research. This can be done only by the 'glorious gospel of the blessed God.' "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace ; but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armor wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils."

The genius of Mohammedanism is a kindred spirit to that of paganism. So also is that of Popery, which is indeed little more than polytheism revived under the Christian name. The former contains the grand principle of the unity of God, which could not but exert a sanative influence ; but notwithstanding this, the religion is decidedly hostile to science of all kinds, except what may be gathered from the Koran ; and the Koran is remarkable, beyond almost all other books, for "darkening counsel by words without knowledge." The Moslem mind has stood still for ages ; and the measures adopted by the present sultan to set it forward in the career of improvement, have brought upon him the suspicion of infidelity.—Cardinal Wolsey declared, that Popery must destroy the press, or be destroyed by it. Popery has indeed ever sought to restrain the operations of the press, and it is too much indebted to ignorance to become the cordial friend of knowledge. Every where it has inflexibly opposed the general education of the people, and the circulation and reading of the word of God ; nor does it seem possible for science to have taken wing and soared in papal countries, till warmed and cheered by the Reformation.

We infer, that, if false religions are the patrons of ignorance, and in their nature opposed to the dissemination and increase of knowledge among the people, then the propagation of knowledge among their adherents must be unfavorable to those religions. In relation to the work of forming enlightened Christian communities in the unevangelized world, we take this view of the sciences ;—*they are the natural allies of religion.*—And we would have the benefit of the

alliance. We would call the whole great army of truth into the high places of the field. In so vast a conflict as that which is to revolutionize the intellectual and moral condition of the world, we would not withhold a single soldier, nor a single weapon.

And now, having seen the importance of truth in general, we will state more particularly the uses of the sciences in Christian schools and seminaries among the heathen.—And,

1. *In waking the dormant mind.* It would seem that sin is not only against the nature of God, but against our own nature. It is a disease in the soul, paralyzing its energies. It disorders and enfeebles the mind. We see its genuine tendencies and influence illustrated in the mass of mind, where it has reigned without opposition. Look at the heathen world—how abject everywhere is mind! The first difficulty encountered by missionaries in general, is not the opposition of the heart, it is the stagnation of the mind, its listless, death-like apathy. When this is overcome, and truth begins to obtain an entrance into the chambers of thought and reflection, then comes the resistance of depravity. Preach to a sleeping man, and however opposed he might be to your doctrine when awake, he feels not, heeds not. You must wake his intellect before his heart will resist, or be at all influenced. The grand discouragement which missionaries have to contend with among the heathen is this stagnation of mind. It is their daily grief. The bodies around them move, and give signs of life; and there are the animal instincts, and the animal passions, and sometimes these are roused to ferocious activity. But the mind—oh for some indications of intellectual life! The missionary rouses his own soul to the utmost, and if he be thoroughly furnished for his work, he will bring immense power to bear on the understandings of his hearers. He will cause truth to thunder from the heavens, and utter her voice in the deep; God will, as it were, speak from creation, and the Lord Jesus from redemption, and the scenes of eternity will blaze in their very faces. Yet full many a time the missionary will feel, that he might as well make his exhibitions of truth to the dry bones which filled Ezekiel's valley of vision. This is no exaggerated description. It will be found true all over the heathen world;—where an immense labor is to be performed merely to rouse the mind to action. Indeed this



cannot be done effectually without the aid of the Almighty Spirit ; and the principal instrumentality must be that which speaks most directly to the moral nature, it must be the gospel. But then to encourage and excite thought to the utmost in schools among the heathen, it is expedient to bring forward other subjects besides religion. It has been found that you may teach an adult pagan to read, and that he may read through a book which he is capable of understanding, without having a single thought excited. Some of the native teachers of schools at the Sandwich islands have confessed, that for some time after they had learned to read, and begun to teach others the art, they had not so much as the conception that words had the same meaning in books, as when uttered from the lips. And the great difficulty is not to teach the pupils to read and write, but to think. Along with the infinitely important principles of religion, therefore, it has been customary to employ also the elementary principles of useful science. The Sandwich islander is excited by the discovery, that his islands do not form the greater part of the world, as he had supposed. The Hindoo is roused by the danger to which the religion of Brumha is exposed from the principles of a true astronomy, as well as from the gospel. All are surprised by having the world of familiar objects around them unexpectedly lighted up with useful knowledge. Accounts of other nations, or other ages, interest them. Their range of observation is exceedingly enlarged ; every thing becomes a means of exciting thought ; and the principles of science being taught religiously, as they ought always to be, all things are made to speak of God, the Creator and providential Governor.

2. *The schools are rendered more interesting and useful to the heathen.* The bare mention of this is enough. The combination of science and religion is as necessary in the instruction of the missionary school, as in the schools to which we send our own children. Nay, in many heathen countries the schools would not flourish at all, if the teaching of religion were unassociated with that which heathens, in common with ourselves, deem to be important. So that combining other useful instruction with that which is purely religious, greatly increases the facilities for extending the benefits of Christian education in heathen countries.

3. *Native preachers cannot possibly be educated as they ought to be, without much aid from the sciences.* There is

as great need of a learned ministry among the heathen, as among ourselves. Nothing is more purely the result of unreflecting ignorance, than the opinion that great talents and learning are not demanded by missions among a heathen people. It is our belief that in general learning and talent will no where else find such ample scope, such useful occupation; and certainly they are no where more required. But our present concern is with native talent; and when that is employed to preach the gospel, there is special need that it be thoroughly educated and disciplined. This is true in uncivilized countries, as well as in those which are partially civilized. And among the millions of India, there are special reasons—arising out of the intimate connection of their systems of false science and false religion—why native preachers of the gospel should be conversant with secular learning.

4. *No community can be rendered intelligent and civilized without help from the sciences.* Easier might we banish from among ourselves all works of education not purely religious, and maintain our standing in intelligence and civilization, and in Christian knowledge even, than raise a heathen people without such helps, from their intellectual, moral, and social degradation. Indeed the truth which has been already asserted, that science will make no impression upon such a people without aid from the gospel, is of great importance. It is true, also, that the gospel may make heathens wise unto salvation, without the aid of science. Nay, we admit, that ‘not many wise men after the flesh are called.’ Still it is true, that an intelligent, civilized community, in which the gospel may be expected to live and flourish from age to age unaided from abroad, cannot be formed without a more extended education than the gospel alone provides. The gospel was not designed to supersede the necessity of other things. It was intended to accompany the other gifts of God, and to teach men how to use them. The sciences were designed to accompany the gospel; and revolve about it as their governing orb. When the gospel arose from the chaotic night of the dark ages, the sciences rose with it, to heighten the splendor of this latter day, and with it they have ascended towards their zenith, all shining with beams reflected from that INFINITE SUN OF TRUTH, which animates the universe of thought. The world is to be enlightened, civilized, and made happy by the blessing of God on the combined, consentaneous influence of all the truth vouch-

safed to man, through the medium of creation, inspiration, and providence.

What, then, is the view we should take of this whole subject?

First, we behold *natural religion*, with some mixture of revealed, sustained by tradition ; but without any systematic education, and without much general knowledge to be communicated. The consequence was, that paganism soon made a conquest of mankind, and came near exterminating all truth from the earth.

Next, we behold *Christianity* going forth in the greatness of its strength, and paganism yielding to its resistless influence. But then it had no general science for its schools, no general system of instruction for the great body of the people. Multitudes indeed became truly pious, and Christianity seated itself upon the throne of imperial Rome. But for want of schools and a commanding system of education, it failed to create an *intelligent* Christian community. The consequence was, that its empire soon fell, and was divided between the Papal beast and Mohammedan false prophet. The long period of the dark ages followed.

Then came the memorable *Reformation*. And now Christianity had no sooner awoke, and put on her beautiful garments, than, finding a powerful auxiliary in the newly invented press, she called forth such a spirit of scientific research as never was before. The foundations on which she was now to build, were to be laid deep. Truth, therefore, has ever since been coming out from her hiding places, where she had so long concealed herself from the wickedness of the world. At the call of the gospel she is coming forth, and to its aid ; and every science, as it advances towards maturity, declares its firm allegiance to the gospel. Religion may be excluded for a season from the schools of science, and science may be excluded for a season from the schools of religion ; but in spite of the hatred of the infidel, and the apprehensions of the pious, the study of the works of God will be united to the study of his word, and all the sciences become the handmaids of religion.

Now, too, when the gospel goes forth to renew her conquests in the pagan world, she takes with her whatever is necessary to rouse and educate and civilize the minds of men. She goes not single-handed as before. She goes

prepared to secure the conquests which she makes ; and the empire which she is to establish is to be permanent, as well as universal.

Nor need we be alarmed, should the mind of this world, in the process of being brought under the dominion of truth, be thrown into a fearful activity, and toss its billows like the ocean in a storm. Could the whole attention of the world be turned at once to the truths of the gospel, and intensely fixed upon them, the feelings of mankind would experience such an agitation. But this, to the reflecting servant of God, would be a joyful, though somewhat appalling spectacle. For ourselves, we should prefer sailing in such a storm, with Christ in the ship, to a dead, universal calm. Nor is it improbable that the banishment of Satan for a thousand years from the world, and the descent of the Holy Spirit to transform the moral aspect of the earth, will be at the precise moment when unsanctified mind, everywhere coming into contact with the truth, is agitated by a furious tempest, and the church is tossed upon the billows, and her very existence brought into apparent jeopardy. Such a prelude to the peaceful, cheerful light of millennial day, the Scriptures lead us to anticipate ; and should the great deep of intellectual apathy on moral subjects be suddenly broken up, it will doubtless come. Such refuges of lies as there may then be, such heresies, such fierce skepticism, such reckless persecution, the church has not seen. But this will only indicate the progress of truth, and of society, and of the church in her work ; and soon, under the forming agency of the Almighty Spirit, order will be seen coming out of chaos, and light rising out of darkness ; the new heavens and the new earth will appear ; and every continent and island will become radiant with the beams of the Sun of Righteousness.

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## ARTICLE III.

COMPARISON OF AMERICAN LITERATURE WITH  
ENGLISH.

THAT Americans should seek to preserve the purity of the English language, is a remark which admits no question. It is enough that the language, with all the conceptions which it has embodied, is our own, and that it will inevitably go down to future ages. We must grant, however, that it has never been in America precisely what it is in the land of its birth. To detect the peculiar forms which it has assumed in America, compared with those which it has presented in England, may not be useless as respects the improvement of our own; nor can I think an attempt to lay them open will be deemed trivial by any who have reflected on the importance of language, not only as the expression of thought, but as a powerful instrument in the progress of thought.

Such a comparison necessarily carries us back to the state of our language when the first English colonies were established on this continent. None need to be reminded, that it was quite different from what it now is; that it had in fact phrases and constructions so foreign from those to which we are now accustomed, that when we begin to read the writings of the seventeenth century, the process is not unlike the learning of a new language. At no period, perhaps, has American literature diverged further from contemporary English, than the English of our own age from that which prevailed during the times of Charles and of the Commonwealth. Probably, however, a greater contrast existed formerly than now between conversation and writing. It is certain there were writers of two hundred years ago, who came more nearly than their distinguished contemporaries to what is now deemed idiomatic and colloquial. We meet sometimes with the plain, downright English, deriving itself almost wholly from the tribes who one after another lived in Britain and moulded its speech. Oftener we recognize a magnificent and stately Anglicism inviting large infusions of ancient idioms and constructions, accumulating image upon image, and multiplying words until a period should become almost intermin-

able. The former of these styles we may compare to a plain web without richness or show of anything old or gaudy ; the latter, to a splendid embroidery, the cloth, it is true, woven of Saxon warp and woof, but with greatest diligence of learning and labor inwrought with golden threads selected and taken out of the splendid relics which antiquity left in the works of her mighty genius. This distinction was of long standing. Every one knows how much the Latinized idiom prevailed for ages, forming far back the style of Bacon and of Hooker, characterizing equally Milton, the champion of the people, and Taylor, the ornament of the nobles, and descending even to Barrow. It has been less understood until recently, that in the mean time there was another style, we might almost call it another dialect. Some distinguished authorities as Southey, the Edinburgh Review, and our own North American, have of late called attention to Bunyan as an example. The age which produced the magnificence of Milton and the exuberant imagery of Taylor, gave birth also to the simple way of speaking which characterized this unlettered but inventive genius. The idiom which he used, and of which the age furnished some other examples—Baxter, I think, may be named as preëminent—seems to have existed long before, flowing in a sort of under-current beneath immense masses of ancient erudition, and taking its rise in fountains as hidden as those of the Nile. From what has now been said, it appears how preposterous is the notion that it originated in the writings of Addison. Scarcely less erroneous is the opinion which traces it a step further towards its source, and ascribes it to Tillotson. As to Addison, he polished and adorned, by beautiful imagery and graceful constructions, the uncouth language by which his predecessor disfigured and enervated his admirably good sense. Nor has Tillotson any higher claim than Addison to originality. He found in the prose of Cowley and Dryden as much simplicity as he employed, and more vivacity. The Essays of Cowley are in fact as simple and graceful as his Pindarics are ungainly, affected, and absurd. He wrote indeed with as much ease and liveliness as Bunyan, though his style was not less different than his character and pursuits. The simplicity of the one, is the unstudied elegance of the scholar ; that of the other, the plainness of the fervid and unlettered preacher. Both, in one word, made an easy use of the common dialect ; here the agreement ceases. This dialect they found ; their

age had nothing to do with making it. It was then true that it came from the olden times. Hume detects it as far back as the reign of the eighth Henry. The Spectator has made one of the examples which Hume adduces from that period, quite familiar to its readers, the letter of Anne Boleyn to the king; a composition "differing," as the historian affirms, "little or nothing from the language of our time." We are assured by the same authority, that the language used in the courts of Elizabeth and James, was very similar to that of cultivated society in his own age. We know well that the poesy of Shakspeare is never so delightful, so like the mel-lowest strains of music, as when free from foreign infusions, it oozes forth in the sweet strains of the ancient and undefiled English.

My design is not, however, to examine the origin of these opposite classes of style, thus dividing the literature of England as widely, though by no means in the same way, as the dialects of the Grecian tribes. I wish merely to point out the nature of the division as affecting the age which transferred the language to a new soil. That age saw the division in its full extent; the deeply read in ancient learning on the one side, seeming to have forged all their sentences out of ore and with instruments, one might think, not younger much than Vulcan himself; and, on the other side, the less learned marking on their unpolished pages the characters of thought and language which the common people were wont to use. Yet among the latter were those, who to some extent combined, as we might presume, something of the peculiarities of both. They had not the learning of Milton or Taylor; nor were they rude and untaught like Bunyan. As scholars, they advanced beyond the large majority of their contemporaries, but not so far as to leave pedantry wholly behind. Among these were the ministers and civilians who gave their character to the early habits of New-England. They were scholars, but not of the highest order; they were endowed with strong powers, not with the inspirations of genius. Their learning was of a peculiar cast; massive, to be sure, but without grace or symmetry. Gathered, to some degree, from the original Scriptures, and from the ancient classics, it imbibed too little of their spirit; and was rather redolent of the schools, and the middle ages. It owed little, if anything, to the genius of poetry or of eloquence. Literature was in fact, if the truth must be told, scarcely more

than scholastic theology embodied in forms of harsh and quaint expression. The climax of this quaint theological literature, if we may so term it, was reached in that excellent man and unwearied punster, the renowned Cotton Mather, who hath left in his *Magnalia* great things, it is true, in biography and history, but still greater, it seemeth to me, in quibbles and quirks; greater, it may not untruly be deemed, than he of later days, whom tradition maketh known to us for the same edifying gift, Mather Byles.

Here, then, I conceive, we are to begin in distinguishing the peculiarities of our literature; our fathers brought with them a singular form of the native language. Theirs was not the English of eloquence, of poetry, nor yet of conversation. It was the English of scholastic theology. Removed from intercourse with their countrymen, employed in severe labors, surrounded by difficulties and dangers, and withdrawn from libraries and ancient institutions of learning, they could not be expected to polish and elevate their unformed speech, or even to receive at once the improvements which were going forward in Britain. Their idiom, quaint as it was, would serve all purposes of palpable necessity, and they had neither leisure nor taste for a change. It was not so in England. England was in a state of comparative leisure and security. Hume has undertaken to prove that free institutions are essential to the literary eminence of a nation. The argument is simple:—Personal security is the first object of consideration with men; wherever this is not made sure by the government, it will absorb individual attention; wherever, on the contrary, this is extended to each citizen without effort of his own, the mind will be free to follow its own choice of employment. A due proportion of talent will, in the latter case, receive a direction to science and literature; a result which, in the former case, it would be preposterous to expect. The principle is doubtless sound and well established. Still it is often not so much the form of government, as other circumstances, which determine the amount of personal security. England, amidst the vicissitudes of its government, and under the despotic rule even of the Stuarts, offered far greater security to life and property than the freer States of Virginia and Massachusetts, surrounded and borne down, as these latter were, by difficulties and dangers—enduring poverty at home, assailed by enemies from abroad. The consequence was what might have been foreseen. Lan-



guage retained in the one country, and even increased the progressive impulse which it had before acquired, while in the other its course was obstructed. At the best, it was stationary. Thus, while from the force of circumstances American literature continued without improvement, England was polishing its heavy and cumbrous forms of speech into the lighter and more graceful idiom, which it has ever since retained, and which most love best, however many would disparage it by the contrast with that which it supplanted. America meantime did nobly, but could not do everything. Our schools and higher institutions, monuments as they will be forever of the sound judgment and practical wisdom of their founders, served but to retain learning from decay; they could merely keep it where it was; it was hardly possible that they should impart to it new force or new refinement. They saved, but they could not ripen, its fruits. They protected the sacred flame amidst the rage of conflicting elements; it was reserved for a more tranquil age to kindle a brighter and more glorious lustre. It was about a hundred years from the settlement of Plymouth when the *home* of the Pilgrims was made illustrious by the refined literature of Pope and of Addison. During that long period, how was the genius of the west employed? In honorable occupations, we grant; in self-protection, in founding civil, literary, and ecclesiastical institutions for coming ages, not to say, in the very needful, though humbler business of getting a hard living. Literature, however, could not flourish. The very age, which presented (if we may repeat the beautiful allegory borrowed by Melmoth from Plato) the Graces, finding their indestructible temple in the soul of Addison, exhibited also the awkward and uncouth gambols which a Mather could play, with the same noble forms of language, reminding us less of the fabled deities knit in perpetual dance, than of the limping Vulcan when once he bore nectar to the gods amidst the laughter of Olympus.

I have dwelt the longer on this period in our parallel, because the circumstances which characterized it were, as I think, among the chief which severed American literature from English. A dialect of the language had been transferred to the new continent. Here it became not a dialect, but the common language of books. It continued without essential improvement for a century or more, while its original form was advancing rapidly to perfection. Let us now

trace—briefly we must do it of course—the changes, the successive eras of literature in the two countries. The first has already been referred to, that of Milton and Taylor. The next, which is strongly marked, reached its consummation in Addison and Pope; of the third, Johnson and Burke may be taken as representatives; the fourth is now passing. Fervor and excitement coupled with genius, with deep thought and learning, characterized the first; calmness, grace, and delicacy both of conception and of language, the second. Barrow, sharing in the exuberance of the former, is less excited; while Tillotson and other writers of kindred mind, laying aside what was artificial and pedantic in their predecessors, made the transition to the literature of Queen Anne's day almost imperceptible. We might apply to the two eras the comparison, if it were not now so trite, which Longinus makes of the Iliad with the Odyssey; the former burning like the sun in the meridian, the latter sending forth a gentler heat and light, like the same luminary at its going down. But in each case it made a golden set. It is as if the shades were lengthening, but the light lay gloriously about them; and the rays were growing less fervid, but they were milder and more attractive. We are content to sleep away the noon, and dream of its strength; but we wish to awake and go out and rejoice when the even-tide draws near.

This era of tranquil beauty passed. The church, in producing a Hooker, a Barrow, and a Tillotson, seemed to have exhausted its energies; while in the lighter departments there was a sort of silent awe, like that which Homer ascribes to his gods after Jove had spoken in his might. The throne had been taken, the voice uttered; it remained but to submit. Thus the Spectator and the Rape of the Lock commanded a superstitious veneration, and, what was worse, repressed exertion; for who would contend after the prize was won and carried from the field? Who would enter the lists with Entellus when he sees Dares prostrate? Who meet Achilles with the body of Hector bound to his chariot? English genius appeared, in truth, to have withdrawn and laid itself to rest. The sun had gone down in the midst of its glory, without leaving a promise of its rise.

It arose however. It opened a new era. It is like neither of the preceding. It had less of enthusiasm than the one, less of lightness and grace than the other. There was the grand and measured pace, the lofty port and bearing of

Burke. His imagination had no limits to its compass, no end to its treasures. It was only too profuse, too splendid. It could darken with its excessive brightness even his eagle-eyed and far-seeing judgment. But he comes not alone. Another stalks in a pace still more measured. He has no sportive airs, no lighter graces, no floating, sylph-like motion. His is the tread of the giant walking before men, but not with them; piercing and laying open their souls without sharing in their kindlier sympathies; erect in the grandeur of his own dignity, he refuses ever to stoop even that he may conquer; without the faculty or even the desire of conciliation, he lifts his voice, not to win, but to control, to still the elements of human passion, not by the calmness of his aspect, or the sweetness of his tones, but by the terror of his frown or the power of his thunder. His writings are the image of himself, deep in thought without tenderness, majestic in diction without graceful expression, every sentence a well turned period without flexibility of structure or variation of cadence. Johnson is the colossal statue of English literature, equally vast and immovable.

A class of writers resembling Addison, and making him their model, appeared about the same period. Such were Melmoth, who has given to the simple beauty of his predecessor a most exquisite polish; Goldsmith, who, with less refinement than the one, and less variety than the other, is more vigorous than either; Hume, with his flowing and unconstrained diction; and Blair, with his acute perception of beauty and his lucid and quiet style of expression. These writers, and others of their class, were of another era. Nor was it from that era that Johnson and Burke took their character. The transition was not through such a line from Addison to Johnson, as it had been from Cowley and Dryden and Temple and Tillotson to Addison. The minds which characterized the age of Johnson were of another race; their relationship to others was very remote, at least. They framed a dialect for themselves out of the rich and gorgeous materials which had been accumulating for centuries. Bold in thought, original in language, and less enamored of the graceful and elegant, than moved by the energies of their own high thoughts, they sought strength rather than ease, and splendor, even if dazzled, rather than the softened tints which sooth and invite to rest.

To compare, or rather contrast, Addison and Johnson,

were to repeat what has been done a thousand times. Nor is it of importance to settle the question of precedence between them, now that neither holds undisputed supremacy. Literature seems to share in the progress of the times, and to have become republican; no *monarch* is now acknowledged. The era of Johnson's dominion was short. Mind has been for a half century in perpetual agitation. It has been at work for itself, not sitting idly satisfied with the labors of others. The giant of literature had scarcely passed away, when a long procession advanced to follow his steps. Its ranks have thus far been kept full; and crowds are perpetually rushing into it. The beginning of this century formed a new epoch. It is an age of splendor and of power. Long may it bless the land of our fathers' sepulchres! Its character we must leave to be drawn by men of a future and less partial generation.

Let us turn now to the literature of our own country. When we speak of its features at the first settlement of the British colonies, we speak of features which it retained for above one hundred years, that is, for nearly half the age of our country. It had a dialect uniting with the idiomatic style something of the Roman stateliness, not a little of pedantry, and still more of scholastic theology. For the first century, besides war and the pursuits of private interest, political establishments, and the organization of the church, were the great, perhaps we might say, the single object of attention. The effect was what might be expected, a political and theological literature; there was nothing of poetry, nothing imaginative, nothing rhetorical. A constant intercourse, however, was kept up with Europe; and thus the elements of a change were coming together. As population multiplied, as wealth increased, as security reached the individual, mind of course became less obstructed in the range of its operations, and expanded itself to receive the influences which reached it from without, as well as to bring out and invigorate its own hidden energies.

I deem it of great consequence in estimating American literature, to remember that its theological and political tendencies were permanent. It was not till after the revolution that any scholars of name appear to have thought of much else. This fact will at once interpret some peculiarities of our earlier works, and furnish an apology for their alleged deficiencies. When reproached by foreigners for their dull-

ness or inelegance, we barely reply ;—They were made for the times ; they suited the times ; they had a specific end in view, they accomplished it ; all was therefore done which had been attempted. A similar account, the demand of the times, may go to explain another peculiarity which, before the middle of the last century, distinguished our theological literature. It became metaphysical. But in speaking of this result as demanded by the times, we would not exclude the operation of two great causes which blend themselves inseparably with such a demand. The first is, that some questions of theology, those especially concerning the moral agency of man, lead us at once to the investigation of the powers and laws of the mind. The abstruseness of the investigation is increased by the effort to which, unconsciously perhaps at first, yet almost inevitably, the mind tasks itself, to reconcile its conclusions with the acknowledged attributes of God. Thus the science of theology becomes, from its very nature, more or less metaphysical to men so deeply thinking as the fathers of New England. But we have a second reason peculiar to our own country. It is the land of EDWARDS. Possessed originally of gifts akin to those of Locke, equal to him in the power of analysis and acute reasoning, and superior in what is usually overlooked in his writings, because *shaded*, as it were, and eclipsed by his more obvious peculiarities, a quiet though fervid sensibility often approaching to the poetic, (although of the forms of poetry he betrays no conception,) he was fitted by nature to gain high ascendancy over others. His education, the fervor of his piety, the religious excitement of his age which he did so much to produce, these and other circumstances fell in with his native impulse and tendencies, and gave him a power which seldom falls to the share of any but the reformer. He had associates and followers, who spread his metaphysical spirit through society. He had antagonists also not unworthy of his own genius. Chauncy, without his religious fervor, and without a touch of the imaginative, had a most acute and powerful intellect. He knew as little as Edwards of the forms, and nothing of the spirit of poetry. It is even said he used to wish Milton *translated*. With minds like these, deep in thought, and acute in research, but standing aloof from elegant literature, for representatives and leaders of the age, what might we presume that age would be? Just what it was, the age of metaphysical theology.

Politics formed the next subject of general interest. The colonies had indeed established laws and government, but along with the common propensity to watch over and scrutinize the administration of the one, and the execution or improvement of the other, their frequent wars concurred to divert attention from the labors of the individual to the cares of the citizen. A popular representation, and the frequency of elections made the subject familiar and unceasing in its hold on the mind. The revolution drew near. For years before it opened, the whole community became absorbed and agitated by the topics which the crisis suggested. The lawyer was a politician almost by profession; the physician, the merchant, the farmer, and the mechanic, all assumed the character, whatever were their claims to it; and the very clergyman forgot his metaphysics in his zeal for independence. The revolution went on and ended. But political commotion did not then subside. The discussions which preceded and accompanied the adoption of the federal constitution agitated society anew, and kept all minds turned to politics. Then came the French revolution. Of its other effects we have nothing to say. We have only to remark, that it operated most powerfully in preventing Americans from forgetting political discussion. Perhaps our forms of government may forever render this an engrossing subject; the continual recurrence of popular elections bringing it daily before the public in the shape either of sound argument, or, what we oftener witness, I fear, in that of empty and calumnious or boastful declamation.

Ours is a new era notwithstanding. Within thirty years a literature, separate from metaphysics and from politics, has sprung up. Whether in these two departments we have any to rival our fathers, may be doubted. But we have that which does far more than the world recognizes, to expand the thoughts, to ennoble the feelings, and to make social intercourse happy, and of which the past age was destitute—a literature of the taste and the imagination. Yet I am inclined to doubt whether, with a change so favorable to the graces of language, we have rid ourselves of certain ill effects of the primitive dialect, if we may so call it, and of the modifications which it has received from the prevalence of metaphysical theology and of political discussion. These characteristics of a past age have not impaired the precision of style or its perspicuity; but they have made it less free,

less unembarrassed, than it would have been with a larger infusion of the poetic and imaginative. The well-educated Englishman throws off his words carelessly and yet gracefully, with that inimitable air of unconcern, which bespeaks and grows out of a consciousness that he is in no danger of barbarism or inelegance. He is using an idiom, of which the most perfect forms are familiar and his own. Scottish writers have acknowledged their want of this advantage. Why should Americans refuse to follow their example? Fettered by the peculiarities which our language has acquired under the various influences by which it has been controlled, yet endeavoring to cultivate an easy and unconstrained manner, we are in danger of betraying either effort or inelegance. There may be something, on the one side, like translation, in which the writer seeks to reconcile the differences of two languages, or, on the other, a disregard of models and rules, which renders composition unclassical and unharmonious. Far be it from me to intimate by these remarks that the literary merits of America are small. There are those living and dead, familiar to our memories as household words, whose speeches, whose sermons, and whose essays, are imperishable monuments of their age, identified, we trust, with the glory and the duration of the language. But such men are the last to claim perfection. They are the first to encourage improvement. And they feel more than ourselves that the time has not passed for making the detection of deficiencies one among the first steps in the progress of improvement.

Should an apology be asked for so long a discourse on the mere forms of language, I have only to answer, that, in my opinion, *words* and *things* which so many at this day carefully distinguish, paying all due homage, as they imagine, to the latter, and sneering, or at least civilly leering, at the former, are so connected on all points touching the growth of mind that you cannot separate them. If, as we are taught, words without things are shadows, it is equally true that things without words, although they may claim the dignity of substances, are yet substances just as spirits are in fable; you can see them, but they will not be touched. To speak without figure, they lie out of the whole sphere of reasoning and communication. We can come at no great general truth without words; without words we certainly cannot impart our convictions or feelings to others. We

may add, that, as the habits and reasonings of men do much to impart its character to language, so the influence is reciprocal ; language, as the inspirer and the interpreter of thought, being equally powerful to impress its image on society. Let every scholar remember that he owes it to his country to aid, as far as he can, in making its already noble language a more perfect agent for the excitement and the healthful action of its intellectual and moral energies.

Let me ask indulgence while I present one other train of thought. America has unrivalled advantages for cultivating what may be called a literature of the moral feelings—a literature which shall present religion and virtue pure and undefiled, gushing forth unbidden from the heart, and spreading, through all departments of knowledge and of thoughts, a holy and ennobling influence. The literature of Greece and Rome may be characterized as the heroic ; that of some portions of the middle ages, as the romantic ; that of later ages has been divided between heroism, romance and love. Sterne gave us a literature of mawkish sentimentalism, and Byron has furnished that of dark and gloomy passion. Let ours assume a nobler character, Christianity diffusing through the whole its own holy and free spirit. Were it that every other department of mind had been foreclosed, this is not. It is still open. It is still inviting gifted minds to enter, and to present to the world a new unfolding of the powers—a *phasis*, so to speak, of genius, as widely differing from what it has usually exhibited, as the most dissimilar aspects which the human intellect can assume. The oriental mind and the western are not more completely severed. And yet this literature is not confined in its range. It cannot be ; for the spirit which fills it is infinite. Religion is the science of the universe, the interpretation of boundless and endless mysteries. Those mysteries are every where,—about us—within us—in heaven—on earth—in the history of the world—in the philosophy of nature and the soul, in the researches of reason—in the fervor of passion—in the visions of poetry. A literature so pure, so spiritual, so like an inspiration from God, may select its subject wherever it will. So likewise it may take what shapes of language it shall choose. It may breathe a lofty enthusiasm ; it may win the heart by calm beauty ; it may subdue by strength, or awe and soothe by chastened grandeur. It may combine precision of argument with living and fervid imagery, and impregnate the depths of



philosophy with the energies of intense emotion. Thus infusing its own spirit, to what new dignity will it raise language itself, connecting it by those associations which words always suggest beyond what meets the ear, as well as by the truth which it distinctly utters, with whatever is great and mysterious in our spiritual being, and our relations to the unseen and eternal! Nay, more; it would become a powerful agent of heaven to draw forth our moral nature from the mass of worldliness which too often surrounds, and presses it down, and to lead it onward in freedom and excellence, strengthening its union with God, and deepening its consciousness of immortality.

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#### ARTICLE IV.

##### DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

**FREE** discussion is the privilege and the security of freemen. Light is the element of liberty, and it is only by the vibrations of its medium, according to the theory of modern philosophers, that light can be diffused. Principles and opinions need continually to be discussed, in order that the wheat may be separated from the chaff. This remark is so true, and its application is thought to have become so much a habit in this country, that it may be deemed trifling to repeat it. It is true indeed, that there is discussion enough, and discussion too abundantly reckless and free. But it is also true that its direction often lies not in the same plane with the truth, and endless error is consequently its only result. To say nothing of the fiery ordeal to which character is subjected in this age of personality, when, to use a bold figure of Coleridge, the meanest insects are worshipped with a sort of Egyptian superstition, if only the brainless head be atoned for by the sting of personal malignity in the tail, in most of which cases the very object is not so much the

exposure of a villain, as the discomfiture of an enemy, the discussion of the merest abstract principles, in which truth alone must be the end, is often rendered perplexed and unsatisfactory, and the mind, struck off from the direction of truth, is lost in "error infinite."

"The error of the eye directs the mind;  
What error leads must err."

Discussion leads to truth, only when the fundamental principles, the received axioms, are true. A true conclusion from a false premise is impossible. While then there is much discussion of characters and measures and practical opinions, there is little investigation of principles, and the consequence has been, in many cases, the more discussion, the more confusion. The agitation of the waters, while it has not purified the atmosphere, has cast up mire and dirt, and while no principle has been rendered certain, nor practical conclusion established, mutual accusation and recrimination have been the only result. This has been emphatically true in most of the disputes between the friends and the enemies of African colonization. This confusion has resulted from the unquestioning admission of certain principles, which have passed into the mass of received truths, and which it has been presumed, no man of a sound head, or a good heart, will call in question. Our reverence for these principles, and our attachment to them, is the natural consequence of the expense and hazard at which they have been asserted and maintained. Long and grievous was the bondage of mankind in the Egypt of political oppression. For ages of darkness and hopeless woe, the cry of suffering humanity ascended to heaven. Bitter even now to the chosen people, that has been delivered from the house of bondage, is the remembrance of the toils, the stripes, and strawless bricks. Dreary too has been the passage through the wilderness, and grateful, inexpressibly grateful to the worn and weary pilgrims, is the distant view of Canaan. How natural then it is, that they should look with reverence upon the beacons, that have guided them, as heaven-descended pillars of cloud and fire; should discard all the ordinary precautions of scouts and advanced guards, and follow with implicit confidence, the motions of their heavenly guides. And such is in fact the reverence, which is felt by every freeman, for the "great title-deeds of liberty," the

Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights of 1668, and the Declaration of American Independence. Runnymede is a spot dear to every Englishman, and the fourth of July can never return unwelcomed by the freemen of America. Nor are the emotions with which freemen regard these instruments only those of general and blind reverence. Their feelings are not those of superstitious, but of religious regard; built not on ignorance, but on knowledge and faith. They reverence these charters, not as the ignorant Catholic does his Vulgate, because they are the mysterious talismanic seal of their liberties, but because they understand their principles, and believe them. The key of knowledge is not here taken away from the people; these testaments are in *lingua vernacula*, the people can read them; their principles are plain, the people can understand them; the benefits of which they are the seal are real and palpable, the people can enjoy and appreciate them. It is for this reason that they reverence them, and receive their principles either as self-evident truths, or as propositions made absolutely certain by the demonstration of actual experiment. And not only are the principles, which bear the image and superscription of these instruments, a lawful tender in the senate and forum; but they are the actual current coin of society. They are the circulating medium. Every body receives them; no one questions their currency. The influence of the doctrines of the declaration is felt in every village and hamlet, not of this country only, but of Christendom. They pervade the public sentiment of the civilized world. Like definitions in geometry and natural science, they modify, nay they determine all the deductions of political logic, and impart their hue to every scheme of policy. Their illimitable power cannot be resisted. In the cabals of intriguers, and the manœuvres of political knaves, they may indeed be evaded, and the dust of sophistry thrown in the eyes of the unreasoning multitude to hide the fraud; but direct and open violation of them, no "tint of words" can color with favor, or "metaphysic wit" justify to the people. There are landmarks of political right which may not with impunity be transcended or removed. The despotic demagogue, even at the moment when the iron of his tyrannous policy is entering their souls, must still echo the cry of the arch-hypocrite Robespierre, "*les pauvres peuples*," "*les pauvres peuples*"! and mingle the bitter cup of wrath,

which he deals out to them, with many a sweet savor of popular supremacy and equal rights. The monarch who would "sit on no precarious throne," must no more style himself "King of France," but "King of the French," and hold his authority at the tenure of the popular will. The extent to which the doctrines of the declaration have spread, and the sometimes silent, but always powerful influence they exert, give them an importance, a power for weal or woe, which can only be estimated by him, who with a philosophic eye has perused the pages of history, and traced the operation of abstract fundamental principles to all their remote results in moulding the opinions of men, forming their habits of thought and of reasoning, and controlling all the springs of action in the great machine of human society.

Time was when the divine right of kings was the fundamental axiom in the political creed. "I am the state," was then the self-consequent boast of the monarch. Holding his authority, not at the will of the people, nor for them on the grounds of expediency, but by the ordinance of God, in and for his own person, he looked upon himself as the source and final cause of all his maxims of policy and measures of government. Nor was this assumption questioned. Learning and genius lent their aid to substantiate and enforce these claims. Tame and unlimited obedience to the rescripts of emperors and sovereigns was inculcated as the prime Christian duty; and the insignia of office were thought to be little less worthy of reverence, than the visible glory, that under the Jewish dispensation imaged forth the divine majesty. These were the days of darkness. The influence of these principles pervaded all ranks and all minds. Kings were regarded not as the top-stones of the civil edifice, superincumbent, and depending entirely for support upon the orders beneath them, but as load stones, held in their position by the power of God, and attracting to them, and cementing together all the inferior parts of the building. 'By the grace of God, and his majesty, we are what we are,' was then the humble confession of fealty, and none was hardy enough to claim life, or liberty, or property independent of his monarch's will.

From the proclamations and rescripts of majesty itself, down to the warrants of his humblest beadle, every phase of power bore upon it to the eye of the people the impress of divinity, and none dared say, What doest thou? or Why

doest thou so? And all this vassalage was the result of the simple abstract principle, kings are the viceregents of God.

How important then that principles so powerful of good or ill should be thoroughly understood and traced out into all their remote ramifications. A short sentence that may be written in the compass of a signet, has set up kings, and has cast them down from their thrones; has prostrated a nation at the footstool of the monarch, and has armed that nation with a conscious supremacy, before which thrones and dominations were like chaff before the whirlwind. Surely fundamental principles of such mighty energy should be thoroughly canvassed and traced out, not only in their present and actual operation, but in their ultimate and far-reaching tendencies.

We hold equally with certain other consistent reasoners that "what is wrong in the abstract can never be right in practice;" and we believe that the error of these men is not an error of reasoning, but of principle. We disclaim equally with themselves the doctrine of expediency as opposed to right, and maintain that truth, the whole truth, should be declared, "uncaring consequences." But what is truth? That is the question. Are the origin and nature of men's civil relations yet settled on the true and firm basis? Is there no room to doubt whether the principles so current, and which pushed out to all their logical consequences, seem so ominous of evil, are indeed true? Their currency is surely no certain evidence of their correctness; nor ought the great names, by whose sanction they come recommended, to prevail any further than to procure for them an impartial hearing at the bar of an enlightened understanding. Any further use of authority is an abuse of it. We are to receive doctrines, not because Blackstone or Jefferson or Kent have held them, but because they are true; and we are to reject them if false, though every author from sir Edward Coke to Harriet Martineau have held and taught them.

The Declaration of American Independence is a noble instrument. It does honor to the head and the heart of its author. For free and manly sentiment, bold and vigorous thought, intense expression, and thrilling eloquence, it is unrivalled; and we rejoice to be the inheritors of so rich a patrimony of wisdom and patriotism. But the patriots of '76 were not necessarily infallible; nor are the principles of that instrument settled beyond all further questioning. We

know indeed the hazard we run in calling in question any of the principles of that declaration. It is the apple of the public eye. But we shall not be deterred by any considerations of prudence from the hazardous attempt to couch that eye, believing, as we do, that it is covered by a cataract that obscures its beauty and impedes its vision. Without further preface, in the true spirit of free inquiry, with a love of truth above our attachment to prescription, or our reverence for authority, we proceed to examine some of the doctrines of the declaration, and the reasonings by which they are supported.

"All men," says this instrument, "are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to abolish it, and institute new government."

All men created equal? In what respect? Physically, intellectually, socially, civilly, or politically? In the actual condition of men, there is no equality in any one of these several respects. Constitution, temperament, genius, talent, family, civil relations, property, means of education, all the involuntary circumstances of our birth, are almost infinitely various. One man is feeble, another strong; one gentle, another savage; one "infinite in faculties," another but a single remove from the half-reasoning animal; one the subject of hereditary honors and wealth, another the inheritor of poverty and disgrace.

Is there no natural difference between Milo, that carried the ox, and the Lilliputian page, that waits upon a queen? between Bacon, and the piece of animated machinery that fabricates for life the tenth part of a pin in the prison-house of a British manufactory? Is there no choice between the paternity of Washington, and that of the traitor Arnold?

It may be said in reply, that the question is not one of fact, but of right; that inequality does indeed exist, and where it results from the ordinance of Heaven, must be submitted to; but that all arbitrary and artificial distinctions are absurd and unjust; that constitution, temperament, talents are fixed by Heaven, but that civil and social relations, character and place, are the creatures of human institutions and,

opinions, and in respect to these, all men are naturally equal, and have equal rights.

The proposition is, that all men are *created* equal. But the advocates of natural equality have a right to put their own construction upon it, and we will admit that it means that all men are entitled to equal consideration and privileges by their birth; and that all the hereditary distinctions of family estimation and prerogative are unnatural and unjust. On these principles the arrangement of society ought to be such, that not only the "rich and poor should meet together," but that there should be neither rich nor poor. One vast besom must sweep over the face of society, and fill every valley, and bring low every mountain, and convert the whole into one immense race-ground, where, nevertheless, the goal shall be as the starting-post; and he that runneth as he that standeth an idle spectator of the course. Or if they would stop short of these startling results, they must at least convert society into one vast arena, where all shall contend together, and win before they wear the garlands of victory. Whether this, if it were practicable, would really tend to equalize society, and distribute more justly its prizes, may be fairly questioned. The hump-back and cloven-foot may be grievous under the present organization of society; but any other organization, which should be substituted for it, would result, we apprehend, as it did in the fable; and the hump-back, rid of one burden, carry away with him another. Under any conceivable arrangement, inequalities of social and civil condition must arise. They are the natural and necessary consequence of the physical and mental variety, which God has established. They are but parts of the same plan, and he who ordered the one, designed also the other. That they should be in some degree hereditary, is as just as that they should exist at all. They who are dissatisfied with the existing order, rebel against the ordination of him, who "visiteth the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations, and hath mercy upon thousands of them that love him and keep his commandments."

The difficulty with these reasoners is, that they confound things, which are in their nature distinct, and attempt to apply to the physical relations of man, those eternal and immutable principles which appertain only to morals. There is one respect in which all men are equal. Morally, relatively to

God, all stand upon the same level. Differences of physical or mental constitution, rank, station, privilege, in the eye of God, and in relation to a spiritual and eternal state, are all the same. In Christ, there is neither Jew nor Greek, nor bond nor free. Reason and conscience and free-will, the truly spiritual powers of our being, and the only ground of moral accountableness, are the same in all. Strength and weakness, genius and dullness, the palace and the hovel, all the natural and the artificial distinctions that prevail, can have no power to alter, to add to, or diminish from the immutable relations of man to his Creator. Man looketh on the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart. And in the communications of spiritual mercies, and the manifestations of the divine presence and favor in the soul, there is neither high nor low, rich nor poor; but God looketh to him that is of an humble mind, and trembleth at his word. Prowess, genius, rank, afford no title to their possessors to be made partakers of the divine nature. These temporary and finite distinctions bear no proportion to that which is infinite and eternal; but the powers of our spiritual nature, forever the same, not subject to the changing modes of space and time, ally us to the Deity, and render us all alike the responsible agents of his will, and the objects of his favor or his frown.

Not so with the physical and temporary relations of man to this world, and to his fellow-man. Here there is nothing eternal, nothing unchangeable. All things fluctuate amidst the ceaseless ebbs and flows of the tide of time. "He putteth down one, and setteth up another." Why he does it, he does not deign to tell us. To cast contempt on earthly things, and turn in our minds upon the unchanging realities of our immortal being, may be the reason. But whatever it be, the fact is undeniable, that God has established natural inequalities and distinctions, which in his providence become the ground of artificial distinctions;—distinctions, which it were easy to show are not only consistent with, but directly promotive of the higher moral ends of human existence. An old writer, Soame Jenyns, with the quaintness and good sense that distinguish his times, has set the subject of natural equality in so clear a light, that our readers cannot but be gratified with the following extract.

"All men," it is said, "are born equal. If it be only meant that all men are equally born, that is, that one man is



as much born as another, I shall not dispute its truth ; but in every other sense it is utterly false ; for we daily see that some are born with beautiful and healthy bodies, and some with frames distorted and filled with the most deplorable diseases ; some with minds fraught with the seeds of wisdom and genius, others with those of idiotism and madness ; some by the laws and constitution of their countries, are born to the inheritance of affluent fortunes and distinguished honors, others to a life of poverty, labor, and obscurity. How these can be said to be born equal, I cannot comprehend. If by this proposition is to be understood that at the time of their birth all men are possessed of an equal share of power, wealth, wisdom, learning, and virtue, when they are equally incapable of possessing any, this would be no less ridiculous, than to assert that all men are born with teeth of the same length, when none of them are born with any teeth at all. But supposing they were all born equal, would this prove what is always intended to prove by it, that they always ought to continue so ? or can any argument be drawn from thence against their future inequality and subordination ? Must no man presume to be six feet high, because, perhaps, he was born of the same size as another, who is now but four ? Must no man assume power over another, because they were born equal, that is, because at their birth they were both incapable of exerting any power whatever ? ”

‘ Ah ! but Jenyns was an aristocrat, a tory,’ some one is ready to reply. ‘ Such principles as these would have been popular in the very court of St. James itself, and in the days of its loftiest pretensions. Wellington himself is a liberal whig compared to such a man.’

But what are these principles ? This is the important question : not, who is their advocate ? What are they ? That in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honor and some to dishonor ; that the body is not one member, but many, and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee, nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you ; that every one think of himself no more highly than he ought to think, but think soberly ; that in the constitution of man, physically and mentally, there is laid a ground for other and artificial distinctions ; that every man has his own level in society, and that as in the natural world, so in the civil, the order and perfection of the whole depend upon a unity of differing parts.

And is there any thing in this so repugnant to the ideas of justice and benevolence? Or if some minds have been so long accustomed to contemplate man as a mere abstraction, and not a being of flesh and blood, and the subject of actual social and civil relations, that they can receive nothing as truth, which may not be demonstrated with diagrams or algebraic signs, are the facts in the case to be disputed? Do all receive equal consideration in society? Nay, does it appear to be the will of God, as evinced in the natural inequality of man, in the constitution of the domestic and civil relations, that it should be so?

“Therefore doth heaven divide  
The state of man in divers functions,  
Setting endeavor in continual motion;  
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,  
Obedience; for so work the honey-bees,  
Creatures, that by a rule in nature, teach  
The art of order to a peopled kingdom.  
They have a king and officers of sorts;  
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home;  
Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad;  
Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,  
Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds;  
Which pillage they with merry march bring home  
To the tent-royal of their emperor;  
Who, buried in his majesty, surveys  
The singing masons, building roofs of gold,  
The civil citizens, kneading up the honey,  
The poor mechanic porters crowding in  
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate;  
The sad eyed justice, with his surly hum,  
Delivering o'er to executors pale  
The lazy, yawning drone.—I this infer,  
That many things, having full reference  
To one concert, may work contrariously.”

But why labor a point which is so plain? Because there is a spirit of radicalism pervading a portion of the public mind, of which this principle is the root, which tends to subvert the very foundations of civil society, and resolve it into those elements; of which by a fiction of imagination, they persuade themselves it was originally formed. The advocates of these views are, indeed, for the most part, mere dreamers, theorizers, civil and political empirics. But they are zealous, meddling, and importunate, and if they be let alone, the mystery of iniquity, which already begins to work, will yet develope itself in the prostration of the institutions of ages, and the promiscuous desecration of all that is venerable in dignity, or sacred in the relations of human

society. These abstract natural rights, which are claimed as the only ground of all rightful authority, have ever been the watchwords of revolution. In their strength, the jacobins of France, in the last century, rent into fragments an edifice cemented together by the prescription of ages, and supported by the prejudices of many generations. These principles were the fires of that volcano, which, in its heavings, agitated all Europe, and by its eruptions seemed ready to pour desolation over the whole face of civilized society. Natural equality, the rights of man, of uncovenanted savage man, eternal, unchangeable, and incapable of modification for the ever-varying phasis of things, were the themes of the political demagogues, who alternately in swift succession raised, and guided, and were swept away by the whirlwinds of those troublous times. These abstract metaphysical doctrines were the secret springs of their power, and the procuring causes of the ruin that followed. From the flatterers of the mob, by an easy and natural transition, they became its victims, and the means by which they gained their power, became the instruments of their destruction. From the womb of their own diseased fancies, they brought forth the firebrands that kindled the conflagration which consumed them. The malignant fires of that burning have indeed gone out. Its dark ashes have crumbled into mould, and the verdure of civil institutions has arisen again upon its ruins. But the elements of that conflagration yet remain. Human nature is every where the same ; like causes produce like effects ; and what the jacobinical leaders of the French revolution accomplished in furtherance of their schemes of ambition, honest, but misguided men with the same principles may effect through mistaken philanthropy. The materials may not be in this country equally combustible ; they are not ; and to this we owe it that the principles in question have not long ago wrought their legitimate disastrous results. The doctrines of natural equality have never yet in this country been *practically* believed, however current they have been in theory, or unquestioned in the senate and the forum. Learning, talents, virtue, station, have always maintained their natural superiority. The scum, the high-flavored and potent liquor, the lees, and the sediment, have preserved their relative position amidst all the agitations to which the cask has hitherto been subjected. The French doctrines have been with us things of speculation merely.

Americans have talked and reasoned in the new vocabulary of civil and political science; they have felt and acted as though they believed the old; and while their philosophy has taught them to regard the "rights of man" as the sun and centre of the system, their own experience has led them to prefer the actual advantages of the civil state, as the earth, for which the sun shines, and only in relation to which, has it to them any interest beyond that of curious and barren speculation. We are a practical and calculating race; we demand an equivalent in cash or approved credit for every thing we part with; and though we may chaffer and higggle about supposed or imaginary commodities and values, we are slow to strike hands, but in prospect of an immediate and convertible substance. How attractive soever then these doctrines of the pure reason are to those speculative philosophers, who would fain have us believe that they, like Sir Hudibras,

"Have seen truth, naked, all alone  
Before one rag of form was on,"

they have few charms for those sober and practical minds, that look at principles not as mere abstractions of the mind, but in their actual relations and dependencies; that adopt principles not for the sake of experimenting with them, but because they have been already subjected to experiment. Hence it is that the French doctrines, though so popular, and so unhesitatingly received, have actually entered so little into the mass of our practical opinions and habits. Our reasonings are wrong, our feelings are right; our heads would lead us astray, but our hearts keep us in the right path. We assert in words, we believe in doctrine, that ministers and magistrates are but men, and entitled to no consideration above other men, their equals: but we have not actually learned, either to "despise government, or speak evil of dignities."

But how much cause soever we may have for congratulation on the staid and sober habits of our people, their innate sense of propriety and interest, and inaptitude to revolutionary movements, there is yet cause for apprehension and alarm. These doctrines are specious. Their adherents are instant in inculcating them. They come clothed in the garb of philanthropy. They are not indeed wolves; but they are none the less to be dreaded because they are

sincere. Fanatics are ever more dangerous than hypocrites, as zeal is ever more efficacious than policy; and "let us only suffer (it is a remark of Burke) any person to tell us his story, morning and evening, but for one twelvemonth, and he will become our master." Let the doctrines of natural equality pass from the heads to the hearts of the people, and an over-weening self-estimation, a recklessness of authority, a spirit of disorganization, will be the result, whose disastrous effects no power can avert, no imagination conceive.

Again it is said that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," &c.

That men have rights, *real* rights, we are ready not only to admit, but strenuously to maintain. That these rights are the ground of correlative duties and obligations, we also believe. Whether these rights are natural and indefeasible, or social and conventional; in other words, whether they appertain to man, as *man*, or as a social and civil being, is a different question, and on this question we hesitate not to express our full conviction that all the speculations of writers about man in a state of nature, viewed as an isolated and independent being, are entirely irrelevant to the question of his rights and his duties in the civil, social state. They are even entirely useless, when introduced as mere illustrations. There is scarcely a single point of analogy between the two states, and to draw arguments or even illustrations from the one to the other, is scarcely less absurd, than the attempt to deduce the principles of virtue from the demonstrations of physical science. Nearly all the writers on the social state, have made a supposed original compact the ground of it. We have collected the statements of several distinguished writers, and present them together, both for the sake of defending ourselves from the charge of supererogation, and of exposing the looseness and falseness of the views.

"The absolute rights of man," says Blackstone, "are such as appertain and belong to particular men, merely as individuals or single persons.—By the absolute rights of individuals, we mean those which are so in their primary and strictest sense; such as would belong to their persons merely in a state of nature, and which every man is entitled to enjoy, whether in society, or out of it.—The principal aim of society, is, to protect individuals in the enjoyment of

those absolute rights, which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature.—The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures, which appear to him to be most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature; being a right inherent by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free-will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase.”

“Natural society is a state of equality and liberty; a state in which all men enjoy the same prerogatives, and an entire independence on any other power but God. For every creature is naturally master of himself, and equally to his fellow-creatures, so long as he does not subject himself to another person’s authority by a particular convention.”—*Burlamaqui*.

“The absolute rights of individuals may be resolved into the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty, and the right to acquire and enjoy property. These rights have been justly considered, and frequently declared by the people of this country, to be natural, inherent and unalienable.”—*Kent’s Commentaries on American Law*.

Other writers, as Dr. Price, Robert Hall in his earlier political writings, Paine, &c. agree in the same general principles; making certain imaginary abstract rights of the man as an individual, the ground of his social rights. That such an original, uncovenanted state ever existed, is not, we presume, pretended by these writers; nor will they attempt to show, “since (as an old writer hath it) the first man born into the world, killed the second, when these trials of simplicity began.” No such original independence, or subsequent compact, is claimed as matter of fact. It is confessedly a figment of imagination, introduced as a plausible explanation of existing relations and states. It is only assumed as true, for the purpose of illustration.—But did it never occur to these writers that there is an infelicity in making a mere illustration the actual *ground* of a theory? in claiming certain actually existent rights and duties as flowing out of a

state which is admitted to be a mere fiction? Illustration is not argument; and even admitting it to be proper to contrast the rights and relations of the civil state with an Utopia of equality and liberty, it can hardly be legitimate to deduce the rights and obligations of the former as logical inferences from those of the latter. It were as judicious and safe to deduce the principles of ethics from the fables of *Æsop*. Nay, more so; for these fables do indeed illustrate and render plain the relations of things as they are;—whereas the fictions of our political dreamers, destitute alike of foundation in truth and of verisimilitude, want even the point and pertinency of apt illustrations. They are not only unreal, but unnatural; and however consistent the fiction may be with itself, however its several parts may preserve their relative proportions, as in the tales of *Lilliput* and *Brobdingnag*, nothing is plainer, than that the charm is dissolved, whenever these proportions are disturbed, and the relations of pigmies and giants are attempted to be transferred to real existence. What may be true in any conceivable world of the imagination, may be and probably will be essentially false, when translated into the real world of actual life. Not even then as a mere illustration has the figment of a natural state antecedent to the formation of civil society, the least pertinency. The polity of *More's Utopia*, is excellent for the race of men with which he peopled it. Their character, feelings, mental and moral habits, are all in perfect keeping with the simple and metaphysically perfect organization of society, which his fertile imagination has sketched. But who but a dreamer would think of reducing to actual experiment, in a world of entirely different beings, the visions of *More*? and who but such an one would find fault with the present arrangement of society, because it is not marked with all the simplicity of that imaginary state?

The fable of an original compact, resulting from the interests and fears, and depending for its validity upon the voluntary consent and free will of a multitude of isolated and independent individuals, is not only baseless as fact, but useless as fiction. Nay more, it is pernicious. For it not only supposes false grounds of the actual relations, duties and rights of the social state, but deranges and distorts those relations. Like an uneven mirror, it presents not only nothing but an image, but that image even misshapen and false.

The true ground of the social state is the ordination of heaven. It has not been left optional with any man to enter that state, or retain his individuality, at his pleasure. Not the weakness, the wants, the fears, the mutual dependence of man force them into society. These do indeed make society necessary to human happiness, and would of themselves indicate the will of God in relation to it. But they by no means constitute all the bonds of civil union, nor is it a thing dependent for its stability on so fickle a matter as human free-will. For if interest and free-will are the sole ground of society, they, too, are a sufficient ground of its dissolution, and any man may withdraw from society whenever his supposed interest or his fancy inclines him to do it.

Moral constitution, affections, sympathies, the voice of conscience, these are the true basis of the social relations. Men by nature are *social*, not independent. What gregariousness is to the inferior animals from instinct, the social state is to man from the higher laws of reason and conscience. Impelled by the mandates of the divinity within them, men yield to the involuntary restraints of society, and nothing but the annihilation of conscience is sufficient to break the bonds that bind mankind together. It is only by the destruction of all the powers of moral cohesion, that the fair fabric of the social state can be reduced to chaos. The principle of obedience is a primary law of the moral man. There needs not the long and slow process of deducing the duty of obedience from the maxims of prudence, or an implied contract. Man *feels* his obligation to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as well as to render to God, the things that are God's. From the sceptre of rightful authority, the eye of disobedience shrinks away in involuntary confusion and conscious guilt. On no other principle is it possible to explain the phenomena of every-day's experience. Paley's 'pigeon and the pile of wheat,' were else an inexplicable mystery. If men were brutes, destitute of reason and conscience, but still possessed of the same passions which agitate them now, and that brute intelligence which is adequate to all the purposes of mere contrivance and skill, no power would be adequate to govern and restrain them, that was not at the same time adequate to crush them to atoms. A community of such beings would be the realization of the fabled hydra; every head lopped off, would be followed by



new ones in its stead, and the subjugation of the monster could only be effected by its utter extinction.

But there is an invisible power in man ; a faculty on which law was designed to operate, and only in relation to which is law anything but a bit of parchment. "Strength," says Coleridge, "may be met with strength, the power of inflicting pain may be baffled by the pride of endurance ; the eye of rage may be answered by the stare of defiance, or the downcast look of dark and revengeful resolve ; and with all this there is an outward and determined object, to which the mind can attach its passions and purposes, and bring its own disquietudes in the full occupation of the senses. But who can struggle with an invisible combatant ? with an enemy, which exists, and makes us know its existence, but *where* it is, we ask in vain. No space contains it ; time promises no control over it ; it has no ear for my threats ; it has no substance that my hands can grasp, or my weapons find vulnerable ; it commands and cannot be commanded ; it acts and is insusceptible of my reaction ; the more I strive to subdue it, the more I am compelled to think of it ; and the more I think of it, the more do I find it to possess a reality out of myself, and not to be a phantom of my own imagination ; that all, but the most abandoned men, acknowledge its authority, and that the whole strength and majesty of my country are pledged to support it ; and yet that for *me* its power is the same with that of my own permanent self, and that all the choice which is permitted to me, consists in having it for my guardian angel, or my avenging fiend. This is the spirit of Law, the lute of Amphion, the harp of Orpheus ! This is the true necessity, that compels man into the social state, now and always, by a still-beginning, never-ceasing force of moral cohesion."

What comes now of the so called social compact, the compromised and reserved natural rights, and all the fine spun theories formed out of it ? If this account of the matter be the true one, (and every man's conscience is witness to its truth,) the whole theory of natural and unalienable rights is baseless. The Creator has never endowed man with certain inalienable rights, independent of all the circumstances and relations of his being. On the contrary, the will of God, as declared in the conscience, is, that man should possess just those rights, which result from, and are consistent with the

relations of the social state, and no others. These rights are in their very nature incapable of definition or antecedent description. Resulting from an almost infinitely various and complex combination of circumstances, mental and physical constitution, temperaments, intelligence, prejudices, moral condition, and all the constituents of intellectual and moral character, they necessarily partake of the same variety, and are just as incapable of a *a priori* limitation and description, as these ever-varying circumstances. "The rights of men," says Burke, "are in a sort of *middle*, incapable of definition, but not impossible to be discerned. The rights of man in governments are their advantages; and these are often in balances between differences of good; in compromises sometimes between good and evil, and sometimes between evil and evil. Political reason is a computing principle; adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing, morally, and not metaphysically or mathematically, true moral denominations. But the pretended rights of these theorists are all in extremes; and in proportion as they are metaphysically true, they are morally and politically false. These metaphysic rights, entering into common life, like rays of light which pierce into a dense medium, are by the laws of nature refracted from their straight line. Indeed, in the gross and complicated mass of human passions and concerns, the primitive rights of man undergo such a variety of refractions and reflections, that it becomes absurd to talk of them as if they continued in the simplicity of their original direction."

So too Blackstone, though receiving the abstract doctrines of natural right, shrunk instinctively from their application, and adopted substantially the same view as Burke. "The right of personal security," says he, "consists in a person's legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health, and his reputation." LEGAL enjoyment! It seems then that this absolute, unalienable right, which "every man is entitled to enjoy, whether in society or out of it," is still subject to modification. Sir William then admits that this absolute, indefeasible right, which just now he claimed as one of the absolute rights reserved in the original compact, is nevertheless subject to LEGAL limitations; in other words, is no more a natural, absolute, unalienable right, but the creature of civil society, and subject to the limitation of its convenience. So again Blackstone; "This natural life, being as was before observed, the immediate donation of

the great Creator, cannot *legally* be disposed of or destroyed by any individual, neither by the person himself, nor by any other of his fellow creatures, merely upon their own authority. Yet nevertheless it may, by the divine permission, be frequently forfeited for the breach of those laws of society, which are enforced by the sanction of capital punishments."

By a happy *non sequitur*, my Lord Chief Justice comes in the end to the true statement of the relation of the individual to society. Common and statute law rights, he regards as the only actual rights, to which the citizens of an organized state are entitled; and this is undoubtedly the true exhibition of the subject. But he is unfortunate in his premises, and is indebted for his conclusion rather to his innate sense of right, than to his logic. Chancellor Kent, also, following too closely his distinguished guide, has fallen into the same fortunate inconsistency. For first assuming the same origin of personal rights, and asserting them to be "natural, inherent, and unalienable," he ends by declaring the essence of all civil right to be, "that no person suffer, *without express law*, either in life, limb, liberty, good name, or estate; nor without being first brought to answer by due course and process of law."

These writers then recognize no such actual indefeasible right to life or personal security, as that which we have been considering. Their error, as we suppose, consists in deriving the actual rights of man, illogically too, from their imaginary rights, and not from the will of God, as evinced in the order of society which he has established, and the constitution of man which adapts him to it.

Perhaps it would be charitable to suppose, that the author of the declaration intended nothing more by the broad principle which he lays down, than a *legal* right to life. If this be the meaning, however, the language is exceedingly unguarded, and it has been generally misunderstood. Indeed it is hardly possible to suppose that such was his meaning, else the qualifying epithets "natural, unalienable," were not only useless but absurd. His known sentiments, too, as expressed in his other writings, and the uniform interpretation given to it by his disciples, forbid the supposition that such was his meaning. He meant, and those who quote the sentiment mean, that men, *as men*, as the creatures of the same God, are invested with certain civil and political rights, incapable of limitation or alienation, and that whenever society

invades any of these rights, it is the privilege of the aggrieved individual or individuals to burst the ties of social union, and throw themselves back on these original rights.

But let us examine a little more in detail, some of these pretended rights. "All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—Is a man's life his own? Is it his absolutely and unalienably?

There are two cases in which the claims of society upon the life of the individual are paramount. One is that of forfeiture by breach of capital laws; the other is that of public defence at the expense of individual life. In both these cases the natural, inherent, unalienable right to life which is claimed, fails, and society is admitted to possess a right which is above and must extinguish the lower private right. The murderer, the highwayman, the incendiary, and such like, are held obnoxious to capital punishment, and that too not by any invariable and moral rule, but according to the particular positive statute of this or that government, or department of government. There is one law in England, there is another in France, and in the United States nearly as many differing laws as there are different legislatures. What becomes now of the murderer's unalienable right to life, when arraigned before a jury of his country? Will he plead it in that presence? or if he did, would that plea be admitted? And if it would be rejected, is all civil government an usurpation, an unrighteous invasion of the rights of man? Either this is true, or there is no such thing as a natural indefeasible right to life. It will perhaps be said that the individual has made over to society his absolute right to life, in consideration of the protection society affords to his *legal* right. But even admitting this figment to be true, what right has an individual to alienate that which is unalienable, and what right has society to receive that which God vested and made untransferrable in the individual? In this case, either the supposed compact between the individual and society is immoral and illegal, and therefore null, or the right is not inherent and unalienable. The same reasoning is good in the other case adduced, or that of public defence at the expense of individual life. Every organized society or government, in case of public invasion, claims the right of repelling force by force, and of compelling its own members to hazard their lives for the public defence. And this right is unquestioned. But if

the right of the individual to his life be absolute and unalienable, what right has government to put it in hazard? Nor can it be said that in this case there is a balancing of evils, and that the hazard of individual life in public defence is *offset* by the greater danger of public invasion. Can the stream rise above the fountain? Can government possess the right of judging of the hazard to a right, which inheres solely in the individual, and is unalienable? By the very supposition, government can never be made the depository of this right, nor can it compel its subjects to endanger it whenever the public defence in their judgment demands it. The inevitable conclusion is, either that all government is an usurpation, or that this inherent, unalienable right to life has no existence. For all governments do violently invade this supposed right, in the case of felons and soldiers. The gibbet and the strawn battle field incontrovertibly demonstrate either that all government is an unrighteous invasion of individual rights, or that the rights of society are in these instances paramount to those of the individual, and consequently that the latter, as inherent and inalienable, do not exist.

Let us examine now the supposed right to personal liberty. Liberty, in the abstract, is the power of doing what one pleases. It implies the absence of all constraint, and the full exercise of the prerogative of free will. This must be the liberty which the author of the declaration asserts to be the natural right of all men, for it is impossible to see to what other invariable and immutable idea the term liberty can correspond. He could not have meant civil, constitutional liberty; for in that case the proposition could have had no definite intelligible force, inasmuch as constitutional liberty is a thing of convention, and degrees, and could not therefore be said to be either natural or invariable. Constitutional liberty is modified liberty, and varies with the various modifying circumstances. It is a thing of checks and balances, and is incapable of precise definition and limitation. To assert then a natural and indefeasible right to a thing of so uncertain and indefinable a nature as civil liberty, would have been both absurd and nugatory. He undoubtedly meant to assert that man by nature is invested with a perfect, absolute control of himself, and that this natural right, like that of life, is inherent and indefeasible.

Let us examine this right. All governments claim the

right of imprisoning felons, of levying armies, of regulating monage, of prescribing the qualifications for suffrages, and of providing all necessary securities against domestic or foreign evils at the expense of individual freedom. The man who offends against the criminal code of his country, is liable to seizure and imprisonment. The citizens of every country, or such portion of them as the government directs, are liable to be distrained of their personal freedom, and subjected to the muster-roll and *reveille* of the camp. Youth of both sexes are made subject to parental authority and restraint, until they arrive at a certain specified age. Certain conditions, as sex, particular time of residence in the country, or State, amount of personal and real estate, &c. are made essential to the right of suffrage. In all these, and innumerable other ways, governments invade the supposed inherent rights of man to liberty. In this case too, as in that of life, either all government is an usurpation, or there is no such thing as an abstract unalienable right to liberty. The remarks of Soame Jenyns, to whom we are already indebted, on this subject, are so much in point, that we shall owe our readers no apology for quoting them.

"All men, it is said, are born free; this is so far from being true, that the first infringement of this liberty is being born at all, which is imposed upon them without their consent, given by themselves or their representatives; and it may easily be shown that man by the constitution of his nature never subsists a free and independent being from the first to the last moment of his residence on this terrestrial globe; where, during the first nine months of his existence, he is confined in a dark and sultry prison, debarred from light and air; till at length by a *habeas corpus* brought by the hand of some kind deliverer, he is set at liberty; but what kind of liberty does he then enjoy? He is bound hand and foot and fed upon bread and water for as long a period; no sooner is he unbound than he makes so bad a use of liberty, that it becomes necessary he should be placed in a state of the severest discipline; first under a nurse, and then a schoolmaster; both equally tyrants in their several departments, by whom he is again confined without law, condemned without a jury, and whipped without mercy. In this state of slavery he continues many years, and at the expiration of it, he is obliged to commence an involuntary subject to some civil government, to whose authority he must

submit, however ingeniously he may dispute her right, or be justly hanged for disobedience to her laws."

But is liberty a mere name? And is vassalage the order of nature and the will of Heaven? Is there neither right nor freedom in the world, and are the relations and interests of men the mere sport of accident and the prey of cupidity and power? That men have *real* rights, we have already professed ourselves ready to maintain; that a rational, modified, constitutional liberty is among these, we intend in the sequel to show. But that any such rights exist, as the author of the "Contrait Sociel" and his disciples contend, we do not believe. We know that the speculations of these writers are specious and captivating. The simplicity of their theories, the mathematical precision with which they measure and define human relations and rights, and the regularity and system they would introduce into the complicated machine of human society, are exceedingly plausible and fascinating. All the truths of pure science are in their very nature congenial to the reason of man, and their apprehension is a source of the highest gratification. But out of the reason of man they have no existence. There never was a triangle, whose angles were in fact equal to two right angles. Absolutely perfect lines and angles, and circles, the art of man has never yet succeeded in constructing. So that the truths of the most exact and certain of all sciences, are false in practice. How much more must the abstract truths of political science, even admitting them to be truths, be inapplicable to so imperfect and infinitely various relations, as the mental, moral, and physical varieties of men, and the innumerable diversities of social, civil, and political existence create. How bright and beautiful soever these rainbow rights appear, as seen in the light of pure reason, we find as we approach them, that they are but vapor and mist, and that the charm, which attracted us, exists only in the distance, and in and for the organ that views them. So is it with the abstract idea of liberty. This, like all other ideas of the pure reason, is one, definite, and apprehensible, as soon as developed. The power of doing what one pleases, which is the definition of metaphysical liberty, can be understood and appreciated by all. But, it is a *mere* idea; it has no archetype in real life. The actual incarnation of this idol can never take place. In a world of discordant wills, this creation of the mind can never be realized. Such is undoubtedly the liberty of the

pure and holy spirits above. Where the law of love is supreme in all hearts, and all wills are coincident with the good and acceptable and perfect will of God, and therefore with one another, the ideal of the reason may be realized. There the only law is the "perfect law of liberty." On earth, this never can be realized. And yet it is this "vision beatific" of imagination, this pure abstraction of the reason, which has kindled the fancy of the poet, and guided the pencil and the chisel. This is the ideal which poetry, and painting, and sculpture have embodied. This is the goddess they have arrayed in the lineaments of humanity, and robed in the drapery of earth. And the deception has been perfect, and men have vainly believed that she is a creature of flesh and blood, and that her abode is with the inhabitants of earth.

While then we reject as fanciful and dangerous speculation, the jacobinical doctrines of abstract natural equality and liberty, it is no part of our purpose to diminish aught from the real rights and liberties of man as a member of the civil social state, but rather to establish and enforce them. We wish to remove the rubbish that has been thrown around the foundations of the building, both that their firmness may be seen, and that they may be preserved from decay. By dispersing the mists and *ignes fatui* that play upon them, we wish to clear the atmosphere, and cast the light of the real suns that shine above, upon the dark morasses and fens that lie beneath; lest betrayed by their glare, we too should sink, like the speculators of France, into the bottomless pit of anarchy and blood.

As on the one hand, man is formed for the social state, and constrained to submit to its restraints both by conscience and necessity, so on the other, society owes a debt to the individual. Society, though not the creature of individual free-will, is nevertheless not independent of individual interests. The same laws of conscience which constrain individual obedience, also imperatively demand of society the preservation and security of individual advantages. Society exists not *by* but *for* the individual; and as the latter owes obedience, the former owes protection. The individual may justly claim all the immunities and privileges which will promote his own good, and yet not interfere with a higher public good. These are his right; these duty and conscience permit him to demand. More than these are not



his right, nor can he claim more, but in violation of his duty to society and God. No claim then to liberty, or life, or equality, can be set up by any man on the mere ground of his humanity, or because he is equally a man with his fellows. To substantiate such a claim, it is incumbent on him to show, that in the given circumstances, all things considered, this or that will at the same time promote both his own and the general good. What may be conceived to be his right if he were the only man in the world, or were the sole occupant of Robinson Crusoe's island, can then have no influence in determining his claim in society. Indeed it were not difficult to show that even Crusoe himself never possessed those absolute rights which are claimed, nor had any claim to aught but the advantages of his existing circumstances. But in society, and under the obligations which the social state imposes, and the benefits it confers, no man can be entitled to any other rights, than those which are created by its relations, and defined by the voice of the public, speaking through its government.

‘But may not governments become corrupt, and abuse their powers, and oppress those they were designed to protect?’ This undoubtedly may and often does take place. The largest portion of the world is now, and has ever been held in the most tyrannous and degrading slavery, and the wrath of abused humanity and insulted Heaven has been gathering for centuries against the usurpers that have outraged the principles of duty to man, and trampled on the laws of conscience and of God. Wo to the monarch, wo to the dynasty, that has incurred the tremendous guilt of abusing its sacred trust, and rendered itself obnoxious to the scathing indignation of an oppressed people, and an avenging God. Their damnation now of a long time slumbereth not. The chalice of wrath is filling, which they must drink to the dregs; it is bitter and full of superlative wo.

But when the sins of tyranny have all been reckoned; when the atrocities and abominations of the Neros and Caligulas and Buonapartes, who have cursed the world, have all been raked out of the slumbering ashes of time, and heaped together in one burning mass; they are nothing in comparison of the fierce fires of anarchy and insubordination. The shooting of a few fiery meteors, even though their track be marked with desolation, is a small matter in comparison

with the universal confusion and disaster, which the entire annihilation of the law of gravitation would produce.

“Earth would unbalanced from her orbit fly,  
Planets and suns run lawless through the sky,  
Heaven’s whole foundations to their centre nod,  
And nature tremble to the throne of God.”

The chariot of despotism may drive over the necks of a prostrate people. The tyrant may squander his country’s wealth and dry up all its springs. He may fatten by the poverty of her citizens, and clothe himself by their nakedness. But his power to injure and oppress reaches no further. Domestic virtue and happiness may flourish amidst the fiercest storms, and live and move unscathed, like the three holy children in the midst of the burning fiery furnace. History indeed for the most part is but an imperfect mirror of society. It reflects nothing but the mountain tops, round which the sunbeam plays, and the tempest howls, while the little warm and verdant vallies, where industry and peace and virtue dwell, are hidden from the view. The fireside of obscurity has attracted little notice from the writers of history. Their eye has been filled with the more prominent points of the view. The “Happy Valley” has found no historian but the novelist. There is but one faithful history in the whole compass of literature; that history is the Bible. In the Bible are presented, not the grand outline of the view alone, the manœuvres of cabinets, the intrigues of courts, the “pomp and circumstance of glorious war;” but the lesser lights and shades of the picture; the scenes of domestic tranquillity, or distress, the thousand little incidents and circumstances that make or mar the happiness of society. And these too are presented, not with the formal detail, the wearisome minuteness, which courts attention, but with the unambitious simplicity of purpose and manner, which, while it seeks not, gains the eye and moves the heart. We see the father of the faithful in the quiet of his tent, the bosom of his family, and the communion of his God; we see the aged Israel in the fondness of his dotage weaving the many-colored coat, and in the bitterness of a father’s heart, refusing to be comforted over its bloody fragments. Under the horrors of a bondage, the very name of which has become a synonyme for misery, we are introduced into the

bosom of a virtuous family, at one time indeed racked with tortures of dreadful apprehension, but afterwards made inexpressibly happy by the wonderful preservation of its infant heir. Mary and Martha and Lazarus were the subjects of the iron tyranny of Rome. But happiness dwelt at Bethany, and the house of the friends of Jesus, was the habitation of security and peace.

Great as are confessedly the evils of tyranny, they are not the worst of evils. In its most odious form, and its fiercest lust, it is but the stoop of the vulture, dreadful, but limited in the extent, and momentary in the duration of its ravaging. The breach in the domestic circle will close again; the ravished member will be supplied; poverty will be succeeded by abundance; the desert will bud again and blossom, and the solitary place once more be glad. But for the moral desolation of anarchy and misrule, there is no repair; for the death of conscience and the principles of subordination, there is no resurrection. Let the impression once have become deep and *practical*, on the minds of men, that there can be no rightful authority that is not conferred by the sovereign free-will of the governed, and all government is at an end. The unreasoning multitude are too ignorant to perceive the necessity of, and too selfish and self-willed to submit to the restraints which all government imposes. Once admit the principle that interest and free-will are the measure of obedience, and the foundations of society are sapped, and all the laws of social order destroyed. The sceptre of authority is broken; the only bond that can bind men together is sundered, and society becomes one vast Aceldama, where the strong contend for mastery, and the weak for the privilege of being destroyed last. Compared to such a state, despotism is the first of blessings. Better a thousand times to crouch under the iron sceptre of Napoleon, than to live amid the quakings and thunderings and yawning gulfs of a jacobin republic. Do we then advocate despotism? Certainly not. As an alternative we prefer it to anarchy; and for some countries we doubt not that monarchy, severe energetic monarchy is, in existing circumstances, the best form of government. But there is no necessity that the alternative should ever be between despotism and anarchy. It is morally impossible that an intelligent and virtuous people shall long endure the "oppressor's wrong, or proud man's contumely"; and that not because of their physical strength,

and the danger to the oppressor, but from the very nature of knowledge and virtue, and the instinctive reverence they inspire. Mere power stands rebuked in the presence of superior qualities ; and vice abashed, as Satan in the presence of the holy angel, feels "how awful virtue is." And if it were not so, arbitrary domination might be resisted. Tame and supple submission to usurpation is no part of our creed ; and while we hold that all men owe allegiance to the "powers that be," we also hold that they are bound to resist the powers that *be not*. Whenever government transcends its just powers and becomes subversive of the very ends which it was designed to subserve, it is no longer a government, but an usurpation, and it is not only the privilege, but the duty of a people to vindicate their rights. We mean their *real* rights, the advantages which their actual circumstances entitle them to claim. This simple, rational, feasible right, is amply adequate to redress all the wrongs of the oppressed, and is yet entirely different from the dangerous right of disorganization, which the assertors of natural liberty and equality claim. And this we believe is the only middle ground between high-pressure tory principles on the one hand, and revolutionary radicalism on the other.

We are the more confirmed in our opinion, from the remarkable circumstance, that many distinguished men, who in early life ardently embraced the views we have been combatting, saw reason in their soberer and maturer years to retract and oppose them. Luther, in the heat of his youthful zeal, violently maintained these doctrines ; but afterwards, when the heaven he had introduced began to operate, and develope itself in deep and general discontent, and he heard afar off the muttering thunders and sighings of the approaching tempest, with a magnanimity every way worthy of him, and a regard for truth infinitely above his love of mere consistency, he renounced the errors of his youth, and manfully exerted himself to avert the threatening danger. Addressing the peasants of Germany, he makes use of this remarkable language.

"You would also take away all servitude. What? Did not Abraham and many other holy men possess bondmen? Read St. Paul's epistles, and he will instruct you concerning bondmen. That demand therefore savoreth of rapine and violence, and is repugnant to the gospel ; for he that is a servant, may nevertheless be pious and enjoy Christian liberty

as well as he who is in prison, or on a sick bed ; but you aim at this, that all men should be equal and of the same condition ; which is foolish and absurd ; for civil society and government cannot subsist, unless there be a distinction of persons, some masters, and some servants, some to command and some to obey."

So also Burke, in the outset of his political career, was dazzled by the bold and magnificent speculations of the French philosophers, and at one time wanted little of becoming a thorough convert to the system. Says an anonymous biographer of him, in a recent review, "Burke was an Irishman not more in his birthplace than in his spirit, captivated by brilliancy of prospect until he forgot the roughness of the ground beneath his feet, giving public men credit to the full amount of their declarations, and dreaming that the possession of power must naturally impel its possessor to objects of the noblest ambition. He was still in the vigor of his early imagination, a poet, bringing his fervors into politics, a philosopher inventing Utopias, a man of genius investing the whole vast and diversified scene of public affairs in the colors of his own creative mind." But Burke saw his error, and nobly retrieved it. His 'Reflections on the French Revolution,' (a book which we wish our modern speculators would read, or *could* understand,) is equally distinguished for the candor of its confessions, and the sound philosophy of its views. True philosophy and poetry were never seen in more happy union than in that incomparable production ; and it were well if the bold innovators, who seem ready to lay Vandal hands on the constitution of their country, and regard nothing as sacred that interferes with their mad projects, would acquaint themselves with the golden principles, the almost prophetic and but too sadly fulfilled predictions of the Midas-fingered Burke.

Robert Hall is another example of the headstrong enthusiasm of youth, curbed and subdued by the sober experience of age. When only twenty-seven years of age, he published his 'Christianity Consistent with a Love of Freedom,' and two years after, in 1793, his 'Apology for the Freedom of the Press.' In these publications he maintains the same principles as Paine in the 'Rights of Man,' and threw the whole force of his genius into the scale of French jacobinism. We admire the splendor of his genius, the richness of his fancy, and the honesty of his heart, as exhibited in these

tracts. He is incomparably the most able, eloquent, and plausible writer who has defended those principles. The remarks which he makes on Burke, may with almost equal propriety be applied to himself. "In the field of reason the encounter would not be difficult, but who can withstand the fascination and magic of his eloquence? The excursions of his genius are immense. His imperial fancy has laid all nature under tribute, and has collected riches from every scene of creation and every walk of art."

But whatever be the literary merit of these early essays, afterwards endeavored to suppress them, and though from prudential considerations he never openly avowed a radical change of views, that such a change took place is most clear, as may be seen on a comparison of the following extracts. One of them is from the first of the pamphlets already mentioned; and the other from his sermon on Modern Infidelity, published about ten years after.

"Events have taken place of late, and revolutions have been effected, which, had they been foretold a very few years ago, would have been viewed as visionary and extravagant; and their influence is yet far from being spent. Europe never presented such a spectacle before, and it is worthy of being contemplated with the profoundest attention by all its inhabitants. The empire of darkness and of despotism has been smitten with a stroke, which has sounded through the universe. When we see whole kingdoms, after reposing for centuries on the lap of their rulers, start from their slumber, the dignity of man rising up from depression, and tyrants trembling on their thrones, who can remain entirely indifferent, or fail to turn his eye towards a theatre so august and extraordinary? These are a kind of throes and struggles of nature, to which it would be sullenness to refuse our sympathy. Old foundations are breaking up; new edifices are rearing. Institutions which have long been held in veneration, as the most sublime refinements of human wisdom and policy, which age hath cemented and confirmed, which power hath supported, which eloquence hath conspired to embellish and opulence to enrich, are falling fast into decay. That fond attachment to ancient institutions, and blind submission to opinions already received, which has ever checked the growth of improvement, and drawn on the greatest benefactors of mankind danger or neglect, is giving way to a spirit of bold and fearless investigation. Man seems to be becom-

ing more erect and independent. *He leans more on himself; less on his fellow creatures.* He begins to feel a consciousness in a higher degree of personal dignity, and is less enamored of artificial distinctions. There is some hope of our beholding that simplicity and energy of character which marks his natural state, blended with the humanity, the elegance, and improvement of polished society."

View now the dark side of the same picture, drawn by the same hand. "The same restless and eager vanity, which disturbs a family, when it is permitted in a great national crisis to mingle with political affairs, distracts a kingdom; infusing into those intrusted with the enactment of laws a spirit of rash innovation and daring empiricism, a disdain of the established usages of mankind, a foolish desire to dazzle the world with new and untried systems of policy in which the precedents of antiquity and the experience of ages are only consulted to be trodden under foot; and into the executive department of government a fierce contention for pre-eminence, an incessant struggle to supplant and destroy, with a propensity to calumny and suspicion, proscription and massacre. We shall suffer the most eventful season ever witnessed in the affairs of men to pass over our heads to very little purpose, if we fail to learn from it some useful lessons on the nature and progress of the passions. The true light in which the French revolution ought to be viewed, is that of a grand experiment on human nature. Among the various passions which that revolution has so strikingly displayed, none is more conspicuous than vanity; nor is it difficult, without adverting to the national character of the people, to account for its extraordinary predominance. Political power, the most seducing object of ambition, never before circulated through so many hands, the prospect of possessing it was never before presented to so many minds. Multitudes, who by their birth and education, and not unfrequently by their talents, seemed destined to perpetual obscurity, were by the alternate rise and fall of parties, elevated into distinction, and shared in the functions of government. The short-lived forms of power and office glided with such rapidity through successive ranks of degradation, from the court to the very dregs of the populace, that they seemed rather to solicit acceptance, than to be a prize contended for.

Yet as it was still impossible for all to possess authority, though none are willing to obey, a general impatience to break the ranks and rush into the foremost ground, maddened and infuriated the nation, and overwhelmed law, order, and civilization, with the violence of a torrent."

Having now exploded, as we conceive, the disorganizing doctrines of natural equality and freedom, and so established the true grounds of social order and civil relations, as to vindicate ourselves from the possible charge of illiberality and Machiavellism, we proceed to apply the principles, which have been developed according to our original intent, to the vexed question of slavery.

The Abolitionists, or rather Anti-Colonizationists, contend, and the Colonizationists admit, that all men are born free and equal, and are possessed of an inherent, unalienable right to liberty. The former push out these principles into all their logical consequences, and prove domestic servitude, in every form and degree, to be not a civil evil, but a sin. They class it not under the same category with ignorance, poverty, civil disabilities, ineligibility to office, &c. but with murder, robbery, theft, &c. Of course, every slave-holder, be his circumstances what they may, is guilty of positive sin against God and his fellow-men, every moment he continues to hold a slave. It is therefore the duty of every slave-holder, immediately to liberate his slaves.—And we do not see why this is not sound logic. We can detect no fallacy in the argument. If the fundamental principles are true, we do not see how the conclusions can be avoided. So long as the friends of colonization admit these principles, we do not see how they can refuse to admit their logical consequences. If all men possess a natural and unalienable right to liberty, the inference is inevitable, that every invasion of that right is a sin. But the friends of colonization, at least many of them, while they admit the premises, deny the conclusion, and find themselves shut up between the horns of the dilemma, to adopt either a logical or a moral *non sequitur*; to deny the relations of reasoning, or confound the distinctions of morals; to do violence to their understandings, or insult their own hearts.

The advocate of immediate abolition has therefore necessarily had the advantage in the argument, and the moderate colonizationist, who has seen no method of avoiding the con-



clusion logically, and has nevertheless shrunk from its far-reaching, disastrous results, has been compelled to take shelter in the dangerous doctrine of expediency, as opposed to right. We say dangerous doctrine;—for if it be once admitted that known right, as declared in the conscience, may be set aside by prudential considerations, the foundations of morals are at once subverted. There is no delusion, which a sophistical reason may not practise upon itself; no plain dictate of conscience or mandate of duty which may not be made to appear inexpedient; no truth, however bright and prominent, that may not be dimmed and distorted by the mists of a *muddy* understanding. Right is right, and wrong is wrong, invariably, immutably. They are not interchangeable, nor can we admit the principle that a thing right or wrong in itself may change its nature by the force of circumstances, without sanctioning the logic which puts darkness for light, and light for darkness. We tremble at the presumption, which thus invades the sanctuary of man's moral nature; which rends the veil that separates the holiest from the unconsecrated courts, and exposes all to be trodden down promiscuously under the feet of the Gentiles.—If involuntary servitude be in itself a sin, an abuse of humanity, and a violation of the law of God, let every slave be immediately set at liberty, come what will. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.* Let not the sacred moral distinction between the *utile* and the *honestum* be destroyed, nor a principle be admitted, which confounds the plainest and most imperative decisions of conscience with the maxims of a selfish prudence. If the fundamental principles, that stand out in such bold relief, written as it were with sunbeams on the cherished palladium of our national freedom, be indeed true, immutably true, let us dare to be consistent and just, and let us immediately adopt, in relation to the slaves, the liberal policy of the ancient queen, "*Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*"

But these principles are not true; they cannot be true. They strike at the very foundation of all social order. They are equally subversive of all the relations of the domestic and civil state, as of slavery itself. We are not then reduced to the alternative of either sanctioning injustice, or enduring anarchy. The question of slavery, in the light of the principles we have endeavored to develope and illustrate in the course of this discussion, assumes an entirely different aspect. Slavery is seen to be, not a *malum in se*, but a *malum per*

*consequentia* ; not possessing in itself any moral quality whatsoever, but taking its moral hue from the accompanying circumstances, from the various physical relations of the parties to one another, and the motives, feelings and views of the masters, in retaining their slaves in bondage. The slave has no right to any greater degree of freedom, than can be shown to be promotive both of his own and the interests of the community. Nor on the other hand, has the master a right any further to distrain his slaves of liberty, than the same interests require. Civil right we have shown to be relative ; the result of the social relations, not an inherent attribute of humanity. If the immediate liberation of all the slaves in the United States would be dangerous to the peace and order of society, they have no right to immediate emancipation. Immediately to emancipate them would be not a duty but a crime. To continue to hold them in bondage till such time as their liberation shall be safe for society and themselves, is a matter not of state policy, but of moral obligation. But on the other hand, neither can governments nor individual slaveholders justify the system of slavery in the abstract, independently of all existing circumstances and relations. Of slavery in the abstract, nothing can be morally affirmed or denied. It is neither right nor wrong. It is a civil state, not a moral denomination ; a phase of man's physical relations, and not an immutable form of ethics. If slavery had been a moral evil, of the same denomination as murder, theft, adultery, &c. how can it be accounted for that Paul, who was so acute and discriminating a discernor, and so strenuous and fearless an asserter of moral distinctions, has not only not denounced it, but by implication at least sanctioned it? Paul either feared to attack a prevalent and crying sin, or he regarded slavery as a civil evil, which in some circumstances of society may be for the time necessary and therefore justifiable. That Paul wanted moral courage to declare and maintain his convictions, will hardly be pretended ; that he lacked the natural acumen, or divine illumination necessary to perceive the truth, the boldest speculator will not assert.

But it is doubted whether Paul did sanction slavery. Says a modern philanthropist, "If I thought that my Bible sanctioned slavery, I would burn it." What then have we here? "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, (ὡς ζυγὶν δούλοι,) count their own masters worthy of all honor,

that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine that is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railing, evil surmises, &c."

The state of society among the Greeks and Romans at the time when Paul wrote, and the terms which he employs (*δουλοι, δεσποται, ζυγος*) compel us to interpret this passage of the mutual relations of masters and slaves. It is impossible to interpret it of any other relations, without doing violence to all the acknowledged laws of interpretation. The following propositions, then, are established by the authority of Paul:

That Christianity in some cases tolerates slavery, (as it would not have done, if it had been a moral evil, like murder, adultery, &c.) and prescribes rules, regulating the mutual relations of masters and slaves:—That slaveholders may be Christians, (let as many as have believing masters, &c.) and are entitled to special reverence on that account:—That slaves in some circumstances have no right to claim manumission of their Christian masters, but are rather bound to "do them service":—That it is the duty of Christian ministers to teach and exhort slaves to yield their masters obedience and reverence:—That they who teach the opposite, radical doctrines, are proud, ignorant, agitators, promoters of strife, envy, &c.

But to put it beyond all question that Paul was not a radical in politics, if any still doubt, let him read the following extract from another of those antijacobinical writings, the too much neglected and often sadly misunderstood epistles of Paul. "Let every man abide in the same calling, wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? (*δουλος*,) care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise also he that is called being free, is Christ's servant.—Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God." If in these passages Paul does not disavow and oppose the doctrines of our mod-

ern philanthropic jacobins, then language, as a medium of thought, has no more use. The only way of avoiding the conclusion that Paul did not regard slavery as a *malum in se*, is to impeach either his understanding or his heart.

But it may be asked, are all the miseries of slavery, the fomented wars of Africa, the violent disruption of domestic ties, the horrors of the middle passage, the torturing manacles, the sultry feverish air, the thirst that would "drink hot blood," the crowded mid-deck of that floating hell, a slave-ship, the brutal jests of the cannibal auctioneer, the "knotted scourges, matches, blood-extorting screws," all the untold and unutterable physical and moral evils of the system, are all these sanctioned by the gospel? Certainly not. Christ was indeed anointed to preach the gospel to the poor; to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives; to set at liberty them that are bruised, and proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. The tendencies of the gospel are all liberal. It abases the proud, and lifts up the humble. It levels the high mountains of tyranny, and fills up the vallies of oppression. It converts the bleak craggy cliffs and the sunken pestiferous marshes into gently undulating and fertile hills and dales. But how does it do this? By proclaiming the doctrines of natural equality and liberty? By denouncing involuntary servitude under all circumstances, and in every degree as a gross violation of the law of God? By calling masters immediately to liberate their slaves, irrespective of consequences, upon slaves to vindicate their rights at every hazard, and upon legislators to abolish slavery by law, even at the expense of civil commotions, anarchy and blood? No. Christ came to bring no such sword as this. He meditated no such violent commotion of the elements of society. He was a physician, who sought to cure the cancerous eruptions on the body of his patient, not by extirpating them with the knife, a mode both dangerous and ineffectual in such chronic and constitutional cases, but by purging the fountains of disease, by purifying and regenerating the system. The gospel tends to liberty by making men fit for liberty. It puts them in possession of the thing, not the name; the substance, not its shadow. It restrains alike the lust of power, and the license of insubordination. It does this, not by proclamation and statute, but by moral influence. It breathes into the soul of the prince and the peasant, the bond and the free, a love that suffereth long and is kind, that

envieth not, that vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, and seeketh not its own. It seeks not to sunder the bonds of the slave with the sword, at the risk of severing the limbs along with them, but to melt them off by the genial fires of Christian love. Christianity interferes directly no more with slavery, than with government and every form of man's civil relations. All government is in one sense an evil ;—incident to an imperfect state, and to a depraved race. Christianity softens its hard features, by making its restraints less necessary, and substituting the law of benevolence for the law of force. No change in the mere forms of society can in any considerable degree ameliorate the condition of men. There must be a corresponding change of mind and of heart. Mere political convulsions are the tossing of a sick man in a fever,

“ And 'tis a poor relief he gains  
To change the place, but keep the pains.”

The sentiment may seem startling and paradoxical, but we believe that it is nevertheless true, that the relative proportions between civil condition and moral habits have been always nearly preserved. The external forms, like the shell of the lobster, may have sometimes pinched hardly ; and at others, the body politic may have been subjected to equal pain and greater peril from being shaken about in a freshly-incrusted and looser covering. But in neither case has there been any great disproportion between them. Nature left to herself has cast off the shell safely, though with pain, and re clothed the shivering sufferer in a new and more comfortable envelope, while the midwifery of presumptuous empirics, who would anticipate her pains, by prematurely and violently bursting the old covering, has destroyed the provision, that nature has made for the production of a new. It is the head of Jupiter alone from which the axe of Vulcan can deliver a panoplied Minerva. In human affairs, the stroke of violence, that bursts the envelope, is almost sure to destroy the prisoner. Nature's travail is alone safe. It is likewise sure. Knowledge, morals, and religion, will change any form of despotism. The leaven of Christianity will pervade any lump of corruption, and restore to purity the mass. Its influence is noiseless and unobserved, but omnipotent. It is a spiritual power. Chains cannot bind it ; bolts and fetters

cannot confine it. It will live in the furnace, and is never so powerful, as when embodied in the person of the martyr on the rack or at the stake. In every conflict with her physical enemies, so long as Christianity has remembered her spiritual nature, and that her weapons are not carnal but spiritual, she has triumphed ; and by the same means she will continue to triumph, till it shall be proclaimed at the last, that the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

But whenever she has forgotten that her kingdom is not of this world, and has exchanged the weapons of her heavenly warfare for the armor of earth, she has failed in the struggle, like Milton's angels, whose material "armor helped their harm," when else

"unarmed, they might  
Have easily, as spirits, evaded swift  
By quick contraction or remove."

The secret of her power is silence. In the tempest, the earthquake, the fire, there is power ; but it is a power to awe and to destroy. In the whispers of the still small voice alone, is there the inspiration that maketh wise, and the blessing that enricheth and addeth no sorrow therewith. In the beautiful and living forms of Eastern poetry, lightnings are the arrows of Jehovah, and tempests the ministers of his vengeance ; but rain and dew are his children, and the almoners of his bounty. "Hath the rain a father ? or who hath begotten the drops of dew ?" Christianity is the rain and the dew, that gently falls upon forest and field, and fructifies and gladdens all.

Those persons then entirely mistake the nature and objects of true philanthropy, who regard first or chiefly the mere forms of society. Revolution is not reformation. Proteus in all his transformations is Proteus still. A mere change in the physical relations of master and slave, without a corresponding change of mind and character, would be productive of no good to either party ; nay, rather of incalculable evil to both. The authority to restrain would be gone, without the substitution of any moral equivalent in its stead. There would be the strength of the lion let loose from his cage, but none of his nobleness of spirit. "Are we seriously to felicitate a madman, who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell, on his restora-

tion to the enjoyment of light and liberty? Are we to congratulate a highwayman and murderer, who has broken prison, upon the recovery of his natural rights? This would be to act over again the scene of the criminals condemned to the galleys, and their heroic deliverer, the metaphysic knight of the sorrowful countenance." The slave himself must change with his condition, or his enlargement and enfranchisement will be no blessing to him. To put him in possession of the immunities of a freeman, without imparting the moral qualifications that make liberty a blessing, were as unkind to him, as it is dangerous to the community.

To proclaim then in the ears of the slave his imaginary rights, his unalienable birth-right as a man, is to tantalize with hopes that can only disappoint, and instigate to crimes for which blood must atone. It is cruelty as well as madness. Its only effect must be, to destroy the peace of the present, while it furnishes no rational hope for the future; to annihilate the principles of subordination to their masters, while it provides no check to the wild license of anarchy. The propagators of these doctrines know not what they do. It is easy to pull down; difficult to build up. To kindle the conflagration is the work of a moment and of the meanest incendiary; to allay its fury may defy the skill of the prudent, and the labor of the strong. It will be easy to destroy in the minds of the slaves all reverence for the authority of their masters; to inspire them with feelings which ought not to be gratified, and to excite them to deeds of desperation. A few weak heads and misguided hearts are sufficient to this work. But who shall set limits to this license, once assumed? Who shall say to the proud waves of resistance, Thus far and no further shall ye come? Who shall inspire the slaves with fear towards God, with awe for the majesty of law, with affection to government, with duty to magistrates, with reverence to the ministers of religion, with respect for character and rank, when the sole principle of subordination in their hearts is destroyed?

But these bold agitators care not for consequences. They have settled their principles, and 'duty is theirs, results are God's.' If anarchy, if bloodshed, if a servile war more terrible than that which once depopulated Italy, if a new "reign of terror," by reason of which the old shall not be remembered, be the price of emancipation, let them come. Let all past and conceivable forms of horror be united and

mingled in one fierce conflagration, let it be perpetuated through ages, and the peace, the happiness and the hopes of successive generations be all cast into this "furnace of wrath," and yet it is all nothing in the estimation of these men, in comparison with the involuntary servitude of an hour. Well might the apostle say, "From such withdraw thyself." But is there then no remedy for slavery? Is it a providential and permanent relation of the civil state, and must the poor slave, as he pines amid the cane groves of a southern plantation, and faints under the sultry and bondage-loaden breezes, that sweep through them, or bleeds and sinks under the lash of the brutal taskmaster, be told that slavery is not a sin, that it is only one of the multiform varieties of the social state, that he must therefore humble himself to his condition, and submit to the ordination of heaven? By no means. This is not our doctrine. That permanency is predicable of any of the *forms* of the social state, we have expressly denied. They are all mutable, and subject to the checks and limitations of human convenience. In civil matters, whatever is expedient, is right; whatever is inexpedient is wrong. Slavery is sometimes expedient; it is then right. In all other cases it is wrong.

While then we hold that the mere relation, which is designated by the term *slavery*, is not in itself wrong, but is by circumstances sometimes made right; and while too with Paul, we would teach and exhort slaves not to despise their masters, but rather do them service; we are no apologists for injustice and oppression. With the advocates of perpetual bondage we have no sympathy. The domestic tyrant we abhor. Let the fiend incarnate, who tears the African from his home, and binds him, and casts him into the noisome prison of the slave-ship, and feeds him with the bread of affliction and the water of affliction, and exposes him in the market as a beast, and returns with the price of blood to renew his accursed traffic; be delivered over to the vengeance and reprobation, which are his due. The times of former ignorance, when such men as John Newton could remorselessly engage in this traffic, may perhaps have been winked at; but they are now past, and the slave-trader is indeed what the law pronounces him to be, a felon and a pirate, and richly merits the gibbet to which he is doomed, and the perpetual execration of mankind. The slave-holder too, who encourages that traffic, or who abuses the power with



which he is invested to oppress its unfortunate subjects, can receive no countenance from the principles we have endeavored to maintain. To him the relation which is negative in itself, becomes black with guilt. For the miserly inhumanity that visits the slave-market, and coolly selects its victim, and rudely tears asunder the ties of nature, and impresses on him the burning brand, and tasks him and tortures him in the mere wantonness of power, the English language, rich as it is in terms of execration, does not furnish epithets to express our deep abhorrence. It is unutterable. It lies too deep for words. It pervades the very substance of the soul. Whenever the image of the poor African, bleeding, chained, with his neck in the dust and the proud foot of the trampler upon it, comes up before the mind, we are ready to utter the wish of the poet ;

“ Could I embody and embosom now  
That which is most within me,—could I wreak  
My thoughts upon expression, and thus throw  
Soul, heart, mind, passions, feelings, strong or weak,  
All that I would have sought, and all I seek,  
Bear, feel, know, and yet breathe,—into *one* word,  
And that one word were lightning, I would speak ;

Yes, we would speak, and dart fierce light and scathing indignation into the black soul of the tyrant. We shall never quarrel with any man for denouncing wo on the hypocrites, who bind heavy burdens grievous to be borne, and lay them on men’s shoulders, but deign not themselves so much as to touch them with one of their fingers. Let blighting wrath light on their heads. The principles of this discussion interpose no shield between the oppressor and vengeance. “ Her red right hand ” has long been “ armed to plague ” him ; and let her bolts come. Let inhumanity in all its dark and bloody forms, receive the reprobation it deserves. Let the evils of slavery be portrayed in all their horrid features. Let the habitations of cruelty be uncovered to the light of day. Let the intolerable light of an uncompromising public sentiment be poured in upon the darkness of tyranny and guilt. But let it be truly *light*, and not those “ flames ” from which

“ No light, but rather darkness visible.”

Let it be light which shall distinguish things that differ ; which shall discriminate between misfortune and crime ; which,

while it shall flash vengeance and remorse on the despicable petty tyrant, shall comfort and cheer the benevolent and Christian master; who does to others, even his slaves, as he would that they should do to him.

No progress towards ultimate and peaceful emancipation can be made in any other way. Indiscriminate invective will only provoke defiance; and while it will irritate and alienate the consciously innocent, will enable even the guilty to assume the attitude of the persecuted. Against such unrighteous abuse the innocent will make common cause with the guilty. Now, multitudes of the planters, who feel and deplore the evils of slavery, are with us, and will unite in every safe and feasible effort for its extinction. But let the principles of the abolitionists extensively prevail among us, let every slave-holder, whatever be his circumstances or his views, be denounced *ipso facto* as a felon and an enemy of God; and not only every advocate of perpetual bondage, but every friend of gradual and ultimate emancipation at the south will be against us. Instead of the God-speed with which we are now greeted by many a slave-holder in our efforts at gradual emancipation, we shall find only a line of "serried pikes" to oppose us on the borders. Indeed, the advocates of these doctrines do themselves tacitly confess that this would be the result. Else why do they preach their doctrines in New England? New Englanders are not the sinners. If such preaching is needed anywhere, it is at the South. Not a man now dares teach these doctrines south of the Potomac. If they become general in New England and the non-slaveholding States, the horrors of a civil war must be the inevitable result.

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#### ARTICLE V.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF A PURIFIED LITERATURE.

THE aspects of the present time are peculiar. They have no parallel in the history of man. We know, indeed, that present objects, and scenes just passing; objects and scenes in which we have a personal interest; assume, fre-

quently, a factitious magnitude and importance. But here, there is no room for deception. If, in viewing the characteristics of the age, our first impressions have a deep and startling interest, the interest and the apprehension are but deepened by the maturest reflection.

The whole civilized world seems pervaded by a most extraordinary impulse. In government, in the social system, in politics, in morals, in religion itself, nothing seems stable and fixed. Every thing is turbid and revolutionary. Elements are at work, from which must spring, either an unknown beauty and order, or "confusion worse confounded." The human mind itself is unhinged. Principles sanctioned by the wisdom of ages, disappear in a moment, at a flight of specious eloquence, or the dash of a reckless pen. At a period when, more than ever before, the lights of experience are indispensable, thousands are busied only with new experiments; or bewildered with untried, or exploded theories.

When we turn our eyes to Europe, we behold a world of minds in a state of agitation; the great question of absolute or liberal government, much unsettled; and the path to freedom and enjoyment, if these objects are to be ultimately reached, lying, perhaps, through a sea of blood and suffering. In our own country, as we fondly hope, the grand point is set at rest; the season of danger past; and we please ourselves with the prospect of uninterrupted tranquillity; of interminable and unparalleled enjoyment. But who sees not that these day-dreams may prove as transient, as they are splendid? In the very luxuriance of our blessings and our hopes, are found the productive sources of danger. In our extended and flourishing republic, how many corruptions spring. How many conflicts of interest; and still severer conflicts of passion. How many stains deform the fair face of our country. How many maladies prey at her very heart. Who can tell that the mine is not already prepared, whose explosion will prove the wreck of our most valued enjoyments, and our dearest hopes?

In such a condition of things, to look for direction and safety, to any other wisdom and power than that which made, and which governs the world, would be something worse than folly. It would be atheism and madness. No nation on which the sun looks down, has equal reason with ours, to feel its dependence on the Sovereign of the universe; for none is so deeply indebted; and none has so much to lose.

But our protection, if we are to stand, will come, not by miracles, but by means. Among these means, LITERATURE—we use the word in its largest sense—literature, next to religion, occupies the first and principal place. With entire confidence it may be asserted, that if those precious institutions which are the guard and the glory of our country; which give her an envied pre-eminence among the nations; are to be maintained, and transmitted down to distant posterity; she will owe the blessing, under God, to a sound and healthful literature.

In pursuance of this general idea, we will attempt a brief illustration of the *immense and controlling influence* which literature is destined to exert on the great interests of our republic. This will prepare the way to consider some *leading characteristics* of that literature which may be expected to prove a real blessing.

We judge of the future by the past; and “reason but from what we know.” The great Creator governs his immense empire by certain immutable principles. All the astonishing beauty and order and harmony which meet us in the natural world, result from the operation of a few simple and unvarying laws. Throughout the brutal creation, the purposes of infinite wisdom and benevolence are accomplished by something which we call instinct. But in the intellectual and moral world, the sovereign sway is exercised by mind. “*Mind*,” says the ancient sage, “is supreme, in heaven and earth.” In the constitution, however, of different minds, we perceive that immense and endless variety in which, throughout his works, the Creator seems to delight. Is there not reason to believe that among the human species, there arise, from age to age, individual minds of finer temperament than ordinary; of more acute perceptions; of more extensive range; and more easily accessible to the influences of science of almost every kind? Such are the minds to which is usually ascribed the praise of *genius*.

But genius, with all its boasted and brilliant attributes, is an equivocal blessing. Frequently have its seductions proved fatal to its possessor; while its glare, and its eccentricities, like those of the comet, have portended only evil to the world. At best, it has accomplished, without the aid of science, almost nothing which is truly valuable. It was the acknowledgment of the admired Newton, that if he had effected any important good to mankind, he owed it chiefly to patient

thought, and laborious application. In every age, those whom Heaven has raised up as distinguished instruments of usefulness to mankind, have been men who to native vigor of mind, have added the culture of discipline, and the ample stores of science. Such are the men who have been lights of the world, and guides of their species; men who have stamped their own opinions and characters on thousands and millions of their fellow-men.

It would be easy to illustrate this thought by the induction of a variety of particulars.

To recur a moment to that volume which, infinitely more than all others, has formed the minds, and fixed the everlasting destinies of mankind. By whom was it written? Obviously by men of minds not only powerful by nature, but expanded and enriched by various knowledge. True, they were divinely inspired. But this inspiration, while it effectually shielded them from error of every kind, did not render either needless, or useless, their own faculties, or acquisitions. Of this we have proof in the fact, that they all have a style and turn of thought peculiar to themselves. Consider the illustrious leader and lawgiver of the Jews; the writer of a most important portion of the sacred volume. He was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." And Egypt, since so dark and degraded, was then the eye of the world; the chief depository of all the human science that existed. As to Paul, the principal penman of the New Testament, we can scarcely turn a page of his writings, without perceiving a mind powerful, profound, discursive; fearlessly grasping the sublimest themes, and familiarly pouring out the richest treasures of divine knowledge. Nor can we accompany him to Areopagus, without acknowledging his consummate acquaintance with Grecian learning and philosophy. Such were the accomplished scholars whom Heaven in its wisdom selected as the depositaries of its own truth, and the instructors and guides of an erring race.

When the light of divine truth, which for centuries had blessed the world, was nearly extinguished; when darkness that might be felt, brooded over the nations,—who were the selected instruments of rekindling the hallowed flame? Were they men of feeble powers, and stunted acquisitions? No. The Reformers were great men; powerful in intellect; affluent in the stores of human, as well as divine knowledge; masterly in reasoning; and sublime, though simple, in elo-

quence. These were the men who shook the papal throne ; shook Europe, and the civilized world ; and struck a blow in the earth whose vibrations are felt at this distant moment.

That the Fathers of New England were *good men*, is generally admitted. In the judgment, however, of many of their descendants, their eyes were but half opened to the light. Nor were they free from a deep tincture, both of bigotry and enthusiasm. That they had the infirmities of men, with some of the errors peculiar to their age, we readily grant. But unshaken adherence to truth is not bigotry. Nor is a deep and pervading sense of its power, enthusiasm. And if our ancestors sometimes passed insensibly the hair-breadth line of *separation*, it becomes not us, whose deviations may be far greater, though in a different direction, to cast the first stone. They were eminent men ; eminent not only in piety and goodness, but in mental sagacity and power ; in learning, divine and human ; in depth of plan, and prospective wisdom. " God sifted," it has been truly said, " a whole nation, that he might send the choicest grain into this wilderness." And where is the wilderness now ? If it is transformed into a delightful garden ; a garden luxuriant in beauty and fragrance ; in flowers and fruits ; we owe it to the process of cultivation commenced by our pilgrim fathers. Those distinguished men lived less for themselves than for posterity. In the institutions, literary, civil and sacred, which they have left us, we read an exalted wisdom ; a profound and far-reaching intelligence. And when, since time began, was there a fairer, richer inheritance transmitted from parents to children ?

In estimating the influence of literature on man, and on society, it is impossible to overlook the sages of ancient Greece. That little spot was, for centuries, the most luminous on the globe. Not only so ; it was the radiating point whence the light of learning was diffused over the civilized nations of the earth. It is true, that in most departments of what is distinctively called *science*, the philosophers and literati of Greece made but small proficiency, compared with what is witnessed in modern times. But in polite literature, in poetry, in eloquence, in the power of refined thought, and exquisitely polished composition, they occupy an undisputed pre-eminence. They have been admired, and will continue to be admired, in proportion to the prevalence of a delicate

and correct taste. As to the famous Stagirite, his claims, as *master of universal science*; as the *secretary of nature herself, dipping his pen in intellect*, will scarcely be admitted now. But some portion of praise is surely due to him who, boldly invading the broad field of human science, has left on almost every part, the imprint of his footsteps; to him who, on a vast variety of subjects, has uttered a vast variety of truths not uttered before. Nor can that have been a mind of small power, which, for a thousand years, not only made its influence felt in the republic of letters, but converted that republic into a *despotism*; a despotism governed with uncontrolled and undisputed sway.

But the path to truth which the searching eye of Aristotle failed to discover, was reserved for the greatest of British writers, and the brightest luminary of modern times. It was Bacon who first made the world see, that what had for ages and centuries passed for knowledge was but a kind of *learned ignorance*; that the very mode of investigating truth had been misapprehended; that if mankind would not remain in perpetual and hopeless estrangement from it, they must commence the search anew. In a word, he taught that truth was to be approached and secured, not through the medium of bold theory, but of careful observation and experiment; of cool and cautious induction. This was a grand and powerful conception, which, like lightning breaking on midnight, revealed a world shrouded in darkness before. Or rather, it resembled the first gleam of morning light. It promised, and it gradually ushered in, a bright and glorious day.

Of this wonderful man, it has been justly remarked, that his great merit was, that he himself had no *philosophy*, (considering the word as implying a sect, or school,) but he taught mankind the right *method* of philosophizing. He closed the paths which lead astray from truth, and opened the safe and only road to real science. He demolished, as it were, at a stroke, a thousand existing theories; and thus did a far greater service to the world, than if he had constructed a thousand more.

It is not contended that no philosopher who preceded Bacon, investigated truth by observation and experiment; nor that all his successors who adopted the system, explicitly recognized him as their great master and model. But if he was the first in distinctly announcing the principle; in illustrating its value, its power, its essential necessity, its applica-

tion ; and in exposing the futility of other modes of seeking truth ; then he claims a distinguished pre-eminence, not only as a benefactor of science, but as a philosopher, and man of genius. Nor ought his claim to be denied.

Since the time of Bacon, knowledge has advanced with a much accelerated step. Numbers have followed in the path which he so luminously traced out ; and have become, in their turn, the guiding lights of their species. Newton, assuming the humble but sublime office of *interpreter of nature*, has penetrated her recesses, revealed her secrets, expounded her laws, and in a thousand instances, substituted demonstration in the place of uncertainty and conjecture. With corresponding ardor, if not with equal success, Locke has explored the world of *mind* ; endeavoring to trace its faculties and operations, with the sources, means and limitations of its knowledge. This broad and boundless field, thus entered, has attracted, in subsequent times, a multitude of zealous and diligent cultivators. That all have labored with success, will scarcely be pretended ; unless it can be shown that theories opposing each other at almost every point, can be equally true. Indeed, we have much to convince us that mental science is even now in a very imperfect state. Yet each of the theories to which we have alluded, has had its day ; and probably its share of influence in moulding the opinions of men on many of the most interesting subjects of human thought—on government, on laws, on morals, on religion. If, even in such a state of things, the science of mind has produced such important effects, what may not be anticipated, when the discordant elements shall be arranged, and light break in upon all the darkness ?

In short, look where we will ; on the present, or the past ; on our own country, or abroad ; we shall perceive the mighty, pervading, controlling influence of knowledge. We shall perceive that intelligence is power. We shall perceive that men of vigorous and highly-cultivated minds have sent forth an influence which has been felt through whole communities ; an influence which has guided their sentiments, formed their taste, dictated their laws, moulded their institutions, and, under God, stamped their destinies.

But if, in other lands, and other ages, the power of *mind* has been thus manifest, and the effects of knowledge thus important ; what results from these sources may not be anticipated in our own country, and in the remarkable era on which we have entered ?



Consider the nature of our government; based on the broadest principles of truth and right; and invoking every degree of liberty which can consist with energy and order. What conceivable state of things could be equally conducive to the most vigorous exercise of mind; to its largest expansion; to its loftiest elevation; to the richest accumulation of the treasures of science; or to their most extensive diffusion through the community?

We have a press, active and prolific beyond example. With surprising facility, the product of one mind becomes the property of a million minds. The strong conceptions, the heart-thrilling sentiments which rise in the bosom of the gifted individual, need not die in their birth. He may assemble the nation around him. He may make himself heard and felt in the remotest extremes of the community. He may impart his ardor to future ages; and he may enkindle lights which shall shine in other worlds.

We are a nation of readers. Books on almost all subjects find their way, not only to the splendid mansions of the rich, but to the cottages of the poor. Some of the most valuable productions of Great Britain are more extensively read among our people, than in the land that gave them birth.

The disposition to read being thus general, it follows of course, that *authors* have their share of encouragement. The period has gone by, in which American writers might justly complain of neglect. Indeed, the complaints uttered on this topic have been for a century past extravagant, if not entirely unreasonable. In the article of standard literature, the demand has generally been greater than the supply. And now that, for thirty years, the supply has been somewhat rapidly increasing, it is still outrun by the demand. The reading public may be sometimes capricious; but generally speaking, American writers are patronized to the full measure of their just claims.

Another security for the progress and the success of our literature, is found in our primary schools. This institution we owe to the sagacity and provident care of our venerable fathers. Yes; those *narrow-minded* men, in the day of their penury, and distress, and peril, laid broader foundations for instruction even in *classical* literature, than we, in our boasted era of light, and refinement, and prosperity, have retained and built upon. Still, while these provisions for elementary instruction are preserved in any degree of purity and vigor,

they will be our safety and glory. They will stand as pledges that our freedom, our government, our laws, our religion will be maintained and perpetuated.

Of the rapid and unexampled multiplication of our colleges, what shall we say? In mathematical phrase, it tends to increase the *superficies* of our literature, more perhaps, than its *solid content*. In this way learning may be diffused; but will it not probably be dilated too? If, however, these institutions shall strenuously maintain their dignity and claims; if they shall vigorously press to higher and higher attainments; they will ultimately become sources of much good; precious fountains, fertilizing by their numerous streams every region of our land.

From the brief view we have taken, we are warranted to conclude that literature is destined to exert a wide-spread and most important influence in our country. Let us pause, and consider some of the leading characteristics which are requisite to render it a real blessing.

Here we may safely remark, that that literature alone is worthy of our support, which is itself supported on the basis of *truth*. In this remark, we do not include an unqualified denial of the legitimacy of fiction. Nor is it needful to adopt the shrewd objection of the mathematician against the poems of Homer; that though they were very fine, they *proved nothing*. Let the poet, if he pleases, expatiate in an ideal world of his own creation. And let the writer of romance, if pure in his aims, his sentiments, and his style, try the power of his favorite instrument in promoting the interests of virtue. But when romance assumes the name of history, let its arrogant claim be rejected with contempt. It is a well-known incident in the life of Voltaire, that when, in a literary circle, certain statements in his "Age of Louis Fourteenth," were demonstrated to him to be untruths, he replied, without either resentment or blush, 'that he was well aware of it; that he never supposed them truths; and that he wrote, not to be believed, but to be read.' If every author were thus scrutinized; if every history were thus divested of its fictions, how many bulky tomes which occupy our libraries, would shrink to very reasonable dimensions. And is it not worthy an inquiry, whether *professed* romances, assuming for their basis the characters and the facts of legitimate history, and giving them a new shape and aspect, new features and complexion, are wholly innocent in their effects? Is it not a

serious evil, that they *vitiates the truth of history*, and fill the mind with a motley, inextricable tissue of fact and falsehood. Indeed, they give to falsehood a decided ascendancy over truth. For no one needs be told that those vivid descriptions which seize the fancy, gain a far surer lodgment in the memory than mere naked statements of fact.

But it is not in history solely, nor even principally, that we perceive the importance of truth. Many works on natural science, which have been long received, and are not yet banished, nor discredited, are so replete with mistakes, that to store the mind with them, is to fill it with darkness, rather than with light. How many grave and learned systems of metaphysics are mere resurrections of long-buried errors. How many others exhibit such mutual discrepancies, that among half a score, one only can be right; while the probability is, that all are wrong. It would be easy to name celebrated and long-current treatises of ethics which, amid many truths, incorporate a *spurious idea*, a first and fundamental error, which mars and vitiates the whole. What can we say of many of the metaphysical, moral and theological systems which pour upon us, in such floods, from Germany, but that they exhibit, with an absence of common sense, the absurdities of false learning, the roavings of unbridled imagination, and not unfrequently, the very madness of impiety.

Whatever is conceded to the right of free inquiry, (and no one can rationally wish to suppress or abridge it,) it cannot be denied that errors of every kind, however plausibly supported, or by whatever celebrated names recommended, are mere incumbrances on science. As little can it be doubted, that moral and religious errors are dangerous; contaminating to the youthful mind; polluting to the heart of the community. The nation whose literature is thoroughly imbued with errors of this description, is in a hazardous state. The flush of health may appear in its countenance; but a secret and mortal poison corrodes its vitals.

Our second remark is, that the literature we need, is *solid*, not specious, superficial and trifling. It has been stated that we are a nation of readers. And it would be delightful to believe that the public intellect is enlightened and improved, in proportion to the prevalence of this reading disposition. But this would probably be a great mistake. Many of the productions which issue from our press, are such as make no

pretensions to impart sound and improving knowledge. With the materials they furnish, the mind may be fed to repletion, and yet pine and starve. How many of our public literary journals give us the shreds and patches and remnants of literature, rather than literature itself. How much specious learning, and imposing scholarship has been manufactured from the mere perusal of *reviews*. Concerning this modern vehicle of literature, it is, indeed, not easy to pronounce a correct and definite opinion. A review, conducted with candor and impartiality, replete with good taste, and accurately applying the sober and long-established principles of criticism to works of the passing time, is undoubtedly a public blessing. But a review, devoid of learning and good sense; the instrument of party, or of avarice; pouring out praise and censure by wholesale; made up of disgusting eulogy, and malignant, cold-blooded satire; is emphatically a public nuisance. Indeed, these journals, so far as they acquire an ascendancy which forestalls and prescribes the public judgment; and thus relieves the reader from the burden of thought and investigation, become obstacles, rather than aids, to good sense and sound learning. And perhaps their most serious inconvenience is, that they nourish indolence, and foster self-conceit, by furnishing to thousands of superficial readers, the shadow, or semblance of knowledge, without the solid reality.

Similar objections lie against no small portion of those *abridgments* and *epitomes* of science which, of recent time, have deluged the community, and gained possession of many of our literary seminaries. These modern improvements, if they have their use, are susceptible likewise of egregious abuse. They may, in certain cases, be pioneers in the region of science; but they never can subdue and appropriate it. The student who is content with them, will find that if he has grasped at learning, he has embraced a cloud. And yet, in virtue of these sage discoveries, some of our academies, it should seem, impart more science to their pupils in a year or two, than is gained in the course of a seven years' residence at a university.

But these delusions, like all other delusions, will pass away. And for a consummation so important, we look with confidence to our higher seminaries; and especially to those of them which, from their long experience and established character, can speak and act with authority and effect. Nor do

we suspect a disappointment. Colleges of this description will not be deluded by these false lights. They will not degrade the dignity, nor abandon the claims of solid, real learning. They will not suffer their pupils to dabble at the streamlets of science, when its pure and ever-gushing fountains are at hand. They will not see them lingering on the margin of the immense ocean, but will plunge them in its profundities. They will prepare and send forth to the world, not sciolists, but scholars; scholars initiated in all the mysteries of ancient and modern learning; scholars disciplined in their faculties, expanded in their views, affluent in real knowledge, *saturated* with genuine science. These are the men whose character, whose influence, whose high attainments will medicine the public mind, and put to flight the maladies of the day. The light of genuine science shall be restored; and the pale and sickly meteors which have usurped its place shall retire and vanish.

A third characteristic of the literature demanded by our age and our country is, that it be *useful* and *practical*, rather than speculative, or merely ornamental. The time is gone by, when the scholar could creditably employ himself in constructing or illustrating systems of no real interest or utility; or consume a long life in *laboriously doing nothing*. A learned treatise on the shield of one of Homer's heroes, or the precise number of soldiers incarcerated in the Trojan horse, though it might have been read with avidity two centuries since, would find little favor now. These fopperies of learning have long since given place to grave and solid realities. Even in the physical world, mere niceties are in little present demand. Philosophy, according to the wish of the Athenian sage, has come down from her heaven, and makes her abode with men. Learning, issuing forth from her cloisters, and bringing all her capabilities into full action, produces changes the most astonishing in the face of human affairs. Never was the control of mind over matter so completely established before. Never did science so generously open its stores to aid the progress of art. Never did the progress of art so completely remunerate the contributions of science. Nature is pursued into her remotest retreats. Her choicest secrets are disclosed; and all her elements, and all her powers, become tributary to the convenience and even the luxury of man.

This unparalleled state of things sends forth an impulse

which is felt among all classes of society. The scholar feels it in his closet, and the philosopher in his seclusion. Each begins to recognize the demands of the age; to be convinced that he has a part to act. Indolence gives way to exertion; barren speculations and theories are exchanged for practice; and the luxuries of literature are supplanted by its solid, sober realities. Men of superior minds begin to feel that the treasures of knowledge are not only to be accumulated, but imparted; and that to accumulate without imparting, is to act but a selfish and inglorious part. They feel, too, that those branches of knowledge are most worthy of cultivation, which are most susceptible of a practical application and use. And the conviction, we hope, is gradually pervading the community, that the value of every species of science is to be estimated by its tendency and effect; that all learning is worthless, which does not go to promote the benefit of man; his real benefit, either in personal improvement and comfort, or in domestic and social enjoyment, or in his character and influence as a member of the state, or in his relations to God and to immortality.

Still, there are some strong contrary appearances, and those somewhat ominous. How shall it be explained, that in an age thus eminently practical; an age distinguished for the cultivation of natural science; an age, too, in which the comforts and luxuries of *real* life abound, no small portion of the reading community continually dwell in an *ideal* world of their own? Works addressed to the imagination; works which stimulate it to its highest exercise, and thus impart ultimately an excessive and morbid sensibility—these are the works which the public appetite has craved, and with which it has been fed and feasted to satiety. Is such a condition of things desirable or safe? Does it indicate a healthful state of the public taste? Does it bode well for the present or the coming age? Grant that the imagination has its legitimate demands—demands which in the case, emphatically, of the young, ought to be gratified to a certain extent. Does not the youthful imagination itself need to be repressed, rather than stimulated? And what if the works to which we have alluded, directly tend, in their frequent and familiar perusal, to unhinge the mind; to disgust it with every-day scenes; to unfit it for ordinary duties; to disqualify it for sober enjoyments? What if they introduce it to characters and scenes and sentiments and passions which vitiate the moral taste;

which corrupt the heart to its centre ; and which, sweeping away the mounds of purity and virtue, open a thousand avenues to temptation? In a word, what if they so occupy the time, the imagination, and the feelings, that God and eternity are forgotten ; and neither leisure nor inclination is left for the proper business of a transient and probationary life?

Fourthly. We need a literature which, while constantly improving, shall *not be extravagantly revolutionary*. That, during the last half century, the most prominent feature in the face of the old world, has been *revolution*, will not readily be questioned. Thrones have been erected and destroyed ; dynasties have risen and disappeared ; ancient landmarks have been removed ; the most venerated institutions have vanished away ; and the whole frame of society has been convulsed to its centre. Connected with these changes, perhaps resulting from them, changes not less astonishing have been exhibited in the world of science. New fields of knowledge have been explored and possessed ; the whole circle of arts has been surprisingly improved ; scientific principles and theories, long unquestioned, have been exploded ; and other principles and theories have occupied their place. The minds of men, animated with an extraordinary impulse, and dissatisfied with all existing things, have soared into new regions, and busied themselves with new creations.

In our own country, the state and aspects of things are correspondent. Indeed, our national existence is but of yesterday ; and we were cradled in revolution. And now we have arrived at the period of youth, have we not, with the ardor, and the energy of that period, a full portion, too, of its waywardness and vacillation? Does not *revolution* appear, full often, written in legible characters, on our principles and theories, our learning and our taste? Does it not threaten to mould our government, our laws, our civil institutions, and our very religion?—In the opinion of not a few in our community, we have just emerged from a state of semi-barbarism. A flood of new light has just burst on our country, and the world. Nothing is yet settled—nothing in politics, nothing in the science of mind, nothing in ethics, nothing in religion itself. Every thing is *to be* settled, in all these departments ; and *we* are fully competent to the great and arduous work. For us it is reserved, and by us it is to be accomplished.—But are these opinions wise, or sober, or safe? Has the world existed nearly six thousand years in vain? Is the fancied

wisdom of all the sages and philosophers and divines who have gone before us, mere folly; and are we the chosen instruments to detect it? Has the word of life remained, till now, a sealed book; and is ours the sagacity which is destined to open it? In settling the most momentous questions which concern our present, and our immortal state, shall we proudly rely on our own sufficiency; and superciliously spurn the gathered wisdom of ages?

We wish to be understood. We complain not of those really great and philosophic minds which, from the pure and ardent love of truth, boldly pursue her through all her haunts, that they may bring her forth to the light of day. With the energy of such minds, we expect to find combined a modesty and caution which are the best security against error. But we complain of those *semi-philosophers* who know not what it is to doubt or to pause; who confidently

rush in where angels fear to tread;

who prefer novelty to truth, and their own crude and shapeless theories to the sound and sanctioned wisdom of ages. Unless this spirit, which is too much abroad, be arrested and checked, it will work unknown and interminable evil. Nothing will be safe from its unhallowed touch. Nothing will escape its undermining influence. Let it thoroughly infect our literature, and our literature will become our danger and our bane; an *ignis fatuus*, seducing us from every secure path, and plunging us in inextricable and destructive errors.

Our fifth remark is, that we want a literature which *will not submit to an unnatural and degrading alliance with the excitements and collisions of the day.*—Whatever different views may prevail on many subjects, there is one point in which all will agree. Ours is an age of extraordinary and unparalleled excitability. The community is never calm; never at rest. The secret of *perpetual motion*, as it regards the public, at least, seems at length to have been discovered. Whatever topic is presented to the attention of the community, and however important, and however imperiously demanding a thorough investigation, it is not submitted to a candid, careful, patient scrutiny. Far from this—a tide of public feeling is summoned around it. And if, while it remains isolated, this object cannot be accomplished, care is taken to



surround it with so many associations, either natural or forced, as shall effectually secure the point. Thus it happens that many subjects of the deepest interest find neither a calm investigation, nor a thoroughly impartial decision. For who does not know that while the passions are awake, the judgment sleeps?

To the reflecting mind, few dangers of the day will appear so great and alarming, as the danger, lest some of the gravest and most momentous questions regarding the interests of the community, be decided, rather by the excited feeling, than the cool, unimpassioned, unwarped judgment of the public. We might instance even in religion; and on this sacred subject, we will hazard a single remark. Those lengthened meetings for pious purposes, which the age has witnessed, and which there is reason to believe the Most High has eminently blessed, are admirably calculated to promote an unusual strength and elevation and ardor of Christian feeling. But they are obviously not so favorable to a calm and successful investigation of difficult and disputed truth. And if, in such a season of excitement, there should seem to dart into some good mind, whether clerical or laic, some religious truth before undiscovered, or some novel and felicitous method of settling a *vexed question* in theology, would it not be safe to defer an ultimate decision; and to subject the impression of a heated moment to the investigation and the judgment of a cool and unimpassioned hour?

Few subjects are so deeply interesting to our community, at the present time, as the subject of *slavery*. How shall the sin it involves be put away? How shall the calamities it threatens be escaped? These are questions which agitate the mind, and press with mountain weight on the heart of every Christian patriot throughout our country. And surely these questions are important enough to demand, not only all the piety and goodness, but all the wisdom and reflection which, from every quarter, can possibly be brought to their discussion. How undesirable, then, that on such a subject, the public mind should be put into a ferment, and a flame? How lamentable, that instead of its cool, collected wisdom, we should have its accumulated wrath and passion? If here, mind is to be arrayed in angry collision with mind, and heart with heart, and citizen with citizen, and State with State, who sees not that the contest, begun in folly and infatuation, will terminate in revolution and blood?

The public excitability of which we have spoken, connected as it is with the unexampled freedom of our government, and the collisions of interests, whether real or imaginary, arising among the different States, is a most portentous affair. It affords to artful and aspiring politicians the very materials and facilities they wish, for accomplishing their favorite designs. It calls into powerful exercise all their talents and eloquence. It often lends to the very semblance of talents and eloquence, a splendor and an efficiency, equally astonishing and pernicious. Thus our country, to its remotest extremes, is kept in a state of ceaseless agitation. Thus, not unfrequently, storms are excited, which threaten the wreck of our peace, our liberty, our invaluable institutions, and even our national existence.

We sometimes venture to cast a glance at the legislature of our Union. And here, in this august assembly, we would fondly hope to see the concentrated intellect and wisdom, the collected virtue and dignity, of the nation. We would hope to see a pure and ardent patriotism, consuming every meaner motive, and triumphing over every opposing interest. We would hope to see illustrious senators, looking steadfastly at their country's good, and with calm, enlightened, undiverted zeal, devising and applying the means of its promotion. But we are not always thus gratified. We have seen, too often, the prevalence of *sectional* jealousies, of contracted and interested views, of party animosity, and excited passion. We have seen brilliant powers, and specious reasoning, and imposing eloquence, enlisted on the side of misrule and disorganization. We have even seen the interests of truth and justice and humanity, **THE PLEDGED AND SACRED FAITH OF OUR COUNTRY**, sacrificed in our proud and splendid capitol. These things we lament, and can never cease to lament. Still, we rejoice that the flame of patriotism has not yet forsaken our country's altars. We rejoice that we have senators whose integrity has stood the test of every trial; senators whose simple and sublime aim is to serve and save the nation; senators who, superior to party interests and contentions, reserve their great energies for great occasions, and devote the noblest powers to the purest cause. Such are the men who are their country's dearest hope; her resort in the "cloudy and dark day;" and, under God, her refuge from the storm.

We remark, in the last place, and with emphasis; we need a literature which *pays implicit homage to Christianity*.

There was a period when learning arrayed itself, with a bold front, against sacred truth ; and ungratefully raised an impious hand against religion, its heavenly patron and benefactor. But it was a learning rather affected, than real. At some times, to borrow the representation of Cowper, it has "bored the solid earth," that it might

Extract a register by which we learn  
That He who made it, and revealed its date  
To Moses, was mistaken in its age.

At other times, it has ransacked the histories of Egypt, of Hindoostan, and China, in the hope of establishing the same shrewd conclusion. But more recently, philosophers and historians of the first reputation have completely put to flight these wretched dreams. They have demonstrated, so far as the point is capable of demonstration, that neither the globe itself, nor authentic history, gives testimony against the Mosaic account of the creation ; but that each, on the contrary, strengthens and confirms it. It cannot, however, be denied, that many admired writers, especially in the department of polite literature, have impugned the truth of revelation, and given strength to the cause of infidelity. Such men have been the opprobrium of learning, and the malefactors of their species. How much better had it been for themselves ; how much better for the world ; and especially, how much better for the wretched victims of their prostituted genius, had they never been born. Where, in all this universe, can there be found a more fearful, unphilosophical compound, than a man of splendid talents, and of a cold, impure, atheistic heart ; a man polluting the very air which, by divine sufferance, he breathes ; and imparting poison and death wherever his influence is felt. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that many British writings much perused in our country, and not professedly of the infidel school, exhibit a spirit and turn of thought which is any thing rather than Christian. Perhaps it is by writings of this description that the contagion of infidelity is most successfully propagated. The malady, coming unannounced, is admitted without suspicion ; nor is even an alarm excited, till the work of death is done.

Faithfulness requires me to notice another form or modification of infidelity. I refer to that which professedly admits the *truth* of Scripture, while it denies its proper *inspiration*.

To say nothing of the inconsistency of this view of things, (for the Bible, be it remembered, is either properly inspired, or it is the basest and the boldest of all forgeries,) we cannot but remark, that the Bible, on this construction, has lost its authority; and by losing its authority, has lost its value. For on this principle, in what sentence of the whole volume, can we be absolutely sure that God himself addresses us? In what sentence of the whole volume, can we be absolutely sure that we find the *truth*? If the Bible is such a book—the production, not of God, but of fallible, erring man—who will believe its declarations? Who will rely on its promises? Who will be alarmed by its threatenings? And who will obey its commands? Who sees not that we are left to all the uncertainty of *deism*—to all its gloom—to all its wanderings—to all its agony—to all its *despair*?

The literature, then, which the age demands, and which will truly bless our country, is a literature which bows, with unquestioning submission, to the Bible—which, perceiving on its front the stamp of *DIVINITY*, receives, with childlike confidence, all its announcements, as so many axioms of infallible truth. Let it not be, for a moment, imagined that this is degrading. Newton thought not so. “We account,” says this master mind, “the Scriptures of God, the most sublime philosophy.” In consonance with this declaration of the first of philosophers, we may fearlessly assert, that the most exalted exercise of the most exalted intellect is implicit submission to *ETERNAL WISDOM AND TRUTH*. And when this spirit shall prevail; when it shall pervade the mind of every favorite author, and thoroughly imbue his writings; when it shall become an essential passport to public favor; when the whole reading community shall be daily familiarized to the views and sentiments of *HEAVEN*, the effect will be most auspicious. Truth and virtue will stand forth in all their majesty, and in all their loveliness. Error and vice will shrink away abashed. The standard of public morals will be elevated. The public taste will be corrected and refined. And the whole tribe of immoral, infidel, atheistic writers, the opprobrium and bane of their species, will sink into merited contempt.

Nor is even this all. While the public *heart* is purified, the public *intellect* will be expanded and improved. The discoveries of Revelation, like the rays of the sun, irradiate and warm and quicken every thing on which they fall. They have a grandeur, an interest, a power, which rouses and

strengthens all the faculties of the soul. Let the truths of the Bible be not merely conned, but illustrated and impressed, in our schools; and millions of young minds, torpid or trifling before, will spring into healthful and vigorous action. Let the beauties and sublimities of the sacred volume be familiarized in our colleges; and it will be seen and felt how tame, comparatively, is all the boasted eloquence and poetry of Greece and Rome. Let the Scriptures be the *Hippocrene* of our poets; and their pages will cease to be invitations to slumber. Let the great and soul-thrilling verities of inspiration be uttered in all their simplicity, and richness, and variety, from our pulpits; and it will be seen at once, that while they purify the heart, and prepare man for heaven, they awaken trains of thought, rouse the dormant faculties, and invigorate the mind to action—incomparably more than all the forms of logic, or the dull and heartless discipline of the schools.

In giving utterance to these thoughts on the importance of learning to our country and its destinies; and in glancing at some principal characteristics of that learning which is our *great desideratum*; our aim is practical. We would impress on our fellow-citizens at large; especially would we impress on the members of the literary community, a sense of their high and solemn trusts.

Behold the rising glories of our country—the profusion of blessings which indulgent Providence has poured around her—the grand, decisive experiment she is making for liberty and self-government—the destinies of her unborn millions, and of mankind, staked on the issue—the eyes of Europe, of the world, of Heaven itself, intensely fastened on the crisis. If she is saved, a new era of unknown brightness and glory dawns on the world. If she sinks, the hopes of man perish with her; and the blackness of despair rests on the whole scene.

Her refuge—we repeat it, and with profound reverence, mingled with trembling hope—is in God. *If He, the Sovereign of the world, give quietness, who can make trouble? And if He hide his face, who then can behold him?*—UNDER God, our country's safety must arise from the intelligence and wisdom of her sons. Nor is it possible to calculate the amount of evil which may be averted, or of positive good which may be secured, if those whom Heaven has qualified and destined to mould and sway the public mind, shall rightly employ all their energies, and all their means.

Mere knowledge—never let it be forgotten—will not, cannot save us. No. The best things become, in their corruption and abuse, the worst, and most pernicious. An unsound, degenerate, prostituted learning, is one of the greatest curses which can afflict any country ; and most emphatically, a republican community, like our own.

If, then, there is a spirit abroad in the land, which is corrupting our *literature* ; which would exchange its solid strength for a feeble and meretricious splendor ; which regards its *surface* more than its *depth* ; which through the medium of poetry, of romance, of history itself, is conveying poison to the public mind ; tainting the virgin purity of the female heart, and seducing our young men into the paths that lead to death—let us resist it.

If there is a spirit which is corrupting our *politics* ; arraying itself in hostility against the first principles of social order, and civil government ; of public justice, and national faith ; and of the constitution itself ; summoning to its aid the ignorance, the prejudices and the passions of the people, with their *sectional* jealousies, antipathies, emulations, and imaginary interests ; and aiming to merge our fair and harmonious republic in a chaos of divided and conflicting communities—let us resist it.

If there is a spirit which is corrupting *morality*, aiming to subvert its long established and well understood principles ; and to substitute in the place of a pure, dignified, unbending morality, a morality the mere creature of convenience, or convention, or caprice, or fashion, or false honor—let us resist it.

And if corruption directs its attacks against religion itself, let us resolutely stand in its defence. If numbers in the community would divest the sacred volume of its inspiration ; that is to say, of all that renders it truly sacred and precious ; let us indignantly frown on the attempt. If numbers, not professedly denying the divine authority of the Bible, discard, or explain away its most obvious and vital truths, let us bind these truths more closely than ever, to our hearts. If an arrogant and false philosophy would instamp its own features on the doctrines of Christianity, let us dare adhere to the simple and divine beauty, the sublime and unbending majesty, of scripture truth.

In fine : let us, in the various stations which Providence has assigned us ; and in our respective spheres of duty, and

of influence, approve ourselves the undeviating, active friends of sound religion, and sound literature. In an age of too much glitter and ostentation, let us aim at nothing better or higher, than solid knowledge, genuine wisdom, unostentatious goodness, and substantial usefulness. In an age of unexampled excitement, let us claim the modest privilege of remaining cool. In an age of ceaseless revolution, let us remember that to *innovate* is not always to reform; and that *old truth* is somewhat preferable to *new error*. At a period when the cause of God and truth is both assailed and defended with a zeal and vigor almost unparalleled, let us consecrate to this high and holy cause, all our faculties and resources, all our energies and efforts.

But we forbear. We have made perhaps but too large a draught on the reader's time and patience. It has afforded us, however, something of relief, and something of gratification, to present thus publicly a few views on subjects of profound, and almost distressing interest. Our free suggestions we cheerfully submit to Christians and patriots; to minds that can think, and to hearts that can feel. May that Almighty Being with whom are the destinies of our country and mankind, mercifully disappoint all our fears, and more than realize our best and brightest hopes.\*

\* The preceding article was originally delivered as an address, before the Associated Alumni of Dartmouth college.

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## ARTICLE VI.

### CHARACTER OF ANDREW FULLER.

*The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, with a Memoir of his Life. By Andrew Gunton Fuller. In two volumes. Boston: Lincoln, Edmands & Co. 1833.*

A **FEELING** of alarm has occasionally been expressed, at the rapidity with which books multiply.—They increase, it has been said, faster than the most industrious reader, with the greatest pecuniary resources and the amplest leisure,

could purchase and peruse them. There is danger, too, it is alleged, that the mind will be overwhelmed, and all solid learning will be swept away, by this deluge of ephemeral and frothy literature.

The multiplication of books ought, however, as it seems to us, to awaken feelings of pleasure and hope. It proves, that there is an increase of the number of writers and of readers. It is an indication, that the condition of society is improving, both because men have more money to expend for books, and more leisure for reading; and because some of the time now employed in perusing books, would otherwise have been spent in idleness or dissipation.

It may be true, that no individual can read a tithe of the books which daily issue from the press; just as it is true, that no person could consume a thousandth part of the provisions which are daily exposed for sale at the Faneuil Market; but it does not follow, in either case, that the supply is too great for the whole community. We can scarcely conceive how vast is the amount of intellect which demands instruction and amusement. This country is a nation of readers; and their various tastes, conditions and duties require a corresponding variety of books. We are inclined to think, that the greatest intellectual want of this country, next to an increase of the number of good religious and literary teachers, is a great addition to the stock of suitable books.\* We rejoice, that the American Bible Society is laboring, successfully, to furnish every dwelling in our land with the pure word of God. The American Sunday School Union has acquired a strong claim to the gratitude and aid of every patriot and Christian, by its endeavors to provide for the rising generation a supply of interesting and valuable books.† But there is still a boundless field for additional laborers. The universal education in

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\* By suitable books, we mean such, as while they are instructive as to their substance, and pure in style, are adapted to the American people. A great proportion of all the books which are read, contain principles and sentiments repugnant to our institutions, habits and duties.—We shall never be an independent nation, till we emancipate our minds from the thralldom of foreign principles and opinions. We must have a national literature.

† It is delightful to think, how many youthful minds are now forming, under the influence of the excellent books furnished by the American Sunday School Union, and kindred societies. What advantages our children enjoy! Yet it was, with pain and mortification, that we heard, a few days since, that *Tom Thorne* has a place in a Sabbath school library, within twenty miles of Boston!



this country is creating an appetite for knowledge, which must be gratified. It sustains a thousand newspapers. It supports a press in almost every village, from the Penobscot to the Arkansas. It demands, every day, new periodical publications, and new books, of every variety of character.

We hold him, then, to be a public benefactor, who writes a good book, or edits an instructive magazine, or a well-conducted newspaper.—He adds to the amount of individual happiness. He promotes the public weal. He diminishes the number of those, who frequent the theatre, the gambling table and the dram-shop. He strengthens the cause of morality, and contributes to the extension and efficacy of true religion.

We are, consequently, gratified, to see new books multiply. That some of them are useless and some pernicious, must be confessed and lamented; but the only remedy is, to increase the number and attractiveness of good books. Keep out the darkness, by adding to the light. Rectify the public taste. Make it more profitable for booksellers to publish useful books, and they will not invest their capital in bad ones.

Next to good authors, we consider active and conscientious publishers to be entitled to our gratitude. He who makes a valuable book cheap and attractive, does more to benefit society and to strengthen his country's liberty, than he who discovers a gold mine, or builds a ship of war. He assists in moulding the character of the nation. He sends forth into a thousand families the salutary principles and useful knowledge, which will make those families the abodes of peace and the nurseries of virtue.

While we welcome new books, we rejoice to see new editions of works, which have received the sanction of public approbation. It is among our blessings, that we have so large a fund of recorded wisdom and deep learning, in the books of past times. Much, certainly, of what was written in former ages was erroneous—much of temporary interest—much was useless; but there was very much which was true and valuable—the discoveries of careful observers; the thoughts of wise and pure minds; the feelings of holy hearts; the creations of consecrated genius.—Here is a vast mine, from which we may extract precious ore, to enrich all future generations. The dross may be left behind. The chaff may be winnowed from the wheat.

THE WORKS OF ANDREW FULLER have been before the public for a number of years. Public opinion has passed on them its decisive sentence. They have taken their place among the standard theological writings in the English language. Though elicited, to a great extent, by temporary causes, and controversial in their form, they discuss some of the greatest questions which can occupy the human mind—atonement—faith—justification—the nature of moral obligation—the tendencies and effects of the principal theories and systems of religions.—These, and innumerable subordinate topics, are treated, with so much acute discrimination, sound judgment, scriptural accuracy, and fearless love of truth, softened by benevolent kindness, that the works of Fuller are justly entitled to rank with those of Owen and Edwards. No well-informed theologian can, henceforward, be ignorant of them. They must have a place in every good library. They may be recommended to every theological student, as presenting, in a small compass, the cardinal doctrines of the faith once delivered to the saints, so accurately and clearly expressed, as to fix themselves in his mind, with the luminous distinctness of axioms. They may be introduced into the family; and while they will make the Christian love and study his Bible more, they will assist him to understand its doctrines better, and to practise its precepts with more alacrity and steadiness.

There are, certainly, some things in these volumes, to which every Christian will not assent; but this is true of the writings of Edwards, and Owen, and Baxter, and Bunyan, and every other human author.—But it may, probably, be said, with truth, that real Christians, of every name, would find as much to approve, and as little to reject, in the works of Fuller, as in the writings of any other uninspired man, in any country or age. He has touched the peculiarities of his own denomination very rarely, and always in a kind and candid tone. His aim was not *sectarian*. He was the champion of the whole great host of God's elect. He defended the fundamental doctrines of the faith; and every heart which loves those doctrines must rejoice to witness his courage and his success.

It was a good service to the community, to collect the works of Fuller into a form so attractive and cheap as that in which these volumes appear. The American edition is well printed, on good paper, and with a new, distinct type.

It is, so far as we have examined it, unusually, though not entirely, free from typographical errors, which disfigure many productions of the American press, and from which English books are not always exempt. We hope, that the enterprising publishers will be amply remunerated for their expenditures and labor, and that the public will be benefitted by a wide diffusion of the work. We are glad to learn, that the first edition is nearly sold, and that a second will probably be issued. It was among the last labors of the excellent senior member of the firm,\* to commence the publication of these volumes. It might have cheered him, on his death-bed, to foresee their salutary influence on the principles and conduct of their readers.

A formal review of the book would be impossible, within any reasonable limits. The topics discussed are very numerous. The "General Index" would fill as much space, as this whole article ought to occupy. A mere synopsis of Mr. Fuller's views, on leading topics, would require many pages. It would be unsatisfactory to him who had not read the book, and of little value to him who had studied it. To do justice, moreover, to Mr. Fuller, the doctrines which he opposed must be examined; and a cast must be given to a review, that would be unsuited to the character of the Observer.†

We will, rather, take this opportunity, to offer a few remarks on the character and labors of Mr. Fuller. It cannot fail to be interesting and profitable, to inquire, how an English farmer, without an academical education, became an able preacher of the gospel, one of the foremost theological writers of his age, and a leader in the great missionary enterprises, which distinguish these latter days of the church.

We will speak, first, of his *education*.

Men are accustomed to annex limited ideas to the word 'education.'—They often use it to signify a literary discipline, rather than as comprehending the whole of that preparation, physical, mental and moral, by which a man is fitted for his duties. "That education only," says Milton, "can

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\* Mr. Ensign Lincoln, a man who was beloved by all who knew him, and whose services, both as a preacher and a bookseller, to the cause of religion and learning, cannot be estimated.

† An acute review of Mr. Fuller's works is contained in his *Life*, by J. W. Morris, a book which ought to be read by every one who wishes to understand the intellectual character of Mr. Fuller.—It was published by Lincoln and Edmonds, in 1830, in a neat volume of 320 pages, 12mo.

be considered as complete and generous, which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and of war." This definition is, perhaps, too extensive for the nature of the human mind itself. But it may be said, with truth, that no discipline deserves the name of education, which does not prepare a man to perform all the duties of the station to which the providence of God appoints him. It must include much more than the training of the intellectual faculties, and the communication of literary and scientific knowledge. The physical frame, the habits, the dispositions, the principles, have a material share in determining a man's fitness for certain duties.

In the restricted sense, Mr. Fuller's education was small. He was instructed in the common branches of learning taught in the free school at Soham. He acquired a slight knowledge of the elements of the Hebrew and Greek languages. He read the best English authors, and carefully studied the most eminent theological writers, both English and American. By practice, he attained a considerable facility in writing, in a clear and energetic style.—Such were his merely literary qualifications.

But in the wider signification, Mr. Fuller was admirably educated, by the providence and grace of God, to fill the post and to perform the duties, assigned to him. We must believe, that God designed him for a special service, and gave him the training, which, on the whole, was best adapted to prepare him to accomplish it.

His powerful frame was one of his qualifications. A feeble, sickly body could not have endured the toils which Mr. Fuller sustained; and it must have sunk, under the action of his energetic mind, as a slight rampart would be prostrated by the recoil of heavy ordnance. Mr. Fuller's labors as a farmer, till he was about twenty years of age, formed a physical education, which gave him an unusual degree of muscular vigor. He was thus prepared for those manifold and incessant labors, which finally brought down even his athletic frame to the grave, but which he sustained till he had passed his sixtieth year.

The humble condition, in which Mr. Fuller spent his youth, was, in another way, one of the causes of his subsequent eminence. That admirable common sense, which was his chief intellectual characteristic, and was the mighty wea-

pon by which he achieved his victories, belonged, in part, to the original structure of his mind; but it was matured and strengthened by actual contact with the affairs, the toils and the hardships of common life; by familiarity with unsophisticated minds; by the necessity of personal exertion; and by the early sense of self-dependence and responsibility. Few men have been distinguished for this quality, without much intercourse with mankind, and personal experience of difficulty and labor.—Washington, who possessed it in a high degree, acquired it amid the fatigues of a surveyor's life in the forest, and the hardships of a frontier war with the savages.—Franklin, who was the great philosopher of common sense, learned it while he was toiling patiently upward from his obscurity as an apprentice in a printing-office, to his subsequent elevation, as one of his country's wisest statesmen, in the hour of her trial, and as her representative at the court of Versailles.

But another part of Mr. Fuller's education for his duties arose from his situation. The ministry under which he sat was so far perverted, by false views of the gospel, from the great purpose of preaching, that he heard no adequate instruction respecting the method by which the soul may be saved, and no invitations to believe in the Saviour. The minister conceived it to be no part of his duty to persuade sinners to be reconciled to God. Mr. Fuller had, consequently, no spiritual guide; and when his mind was agitated by convictions of his guilt, he was left to grope his way slowly and painfully out of his state of darkness into the light, without any aid from men. He was distressed by erroneous views, which he had learned from his pastor, and which prevented him from committing his soul to the Saviour, and obtaining peace. "I was not then," he says, "aware, that *any* poor sinner had a warrant to believe in Christ, for the salvation of his soul; but supposed, that there must be some kind of qualification to entitle him to do it; yet I was aware, that I had no qualification."\* He was forced to resort to the throne of grace, and to the Scriptures, alone, for guidance; and by the blessing of God, he was at length brought into glorious liberty. This protracted struggle, though painful, was useful to him. It was a part of his education. It made him thoroughly acquainted with the devices of the heart, and

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\* Vol. I. p. 20.

with the feelings of the awakened sinner. It showed him the pernicious effects of the errors which darkened his mind, and obstructed his path. It constrained him to search the Scriptures; and it gave a vivid distinctness and preciousness to the truth, by bringing it to his relief, at the crisis of his moral history.

Not long afterwards, difficulties arose in the church, respecting the ability and the obligation of men to perform moral duties. The pastor and the church were at variance; and Mr. Fuller, though young, both in years and in religious experience, was drawn into the controversy. Here, again, he was obliged to examine the points in dispute, as practical questions, and to make himself familiar with the declarations of the Scriptures. Thus was the future champion of the truth trained for his work. He says: "I never look back upon these contentions but with strong feelings. They were to me the wormwood and the gall of my youth: my soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me. But though, during these unpleasant disputes, there were many hard thoughts and hard words on almost all hands, yet they were ultimately the means of leading my mind into those views of divine truth which have since appeared in the principal part of my writings. They excited me to read, and think, and pray, with more earnestness than I should have done without them; and if I have judged or written to any advantage since, it was in consequence of what I then learned by bitter experience, and in the midst of many tears and temptations. God's way is in the deep."\*

Without prolonging our remarks on the preparatory discipline which Mr. Fuller received, it is, we think, evident, that his education for the precise duties to which God called him was well adapted to its end. Greater literary and scientific attainments would certainly have increased his usefulness,† if they could have been superadded to the indispensable qualifications which he actually acquired. He was, we must recollect, summoned to a particular service. He was called to combat certain prevailing errors, in doctrine and in practice. They were not errors which depended on the interpretation of words, or on the exegesis of a few passages.

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\* Vol. I. p. 23.

† He says: "I have sometimes regretted my want of learning." Vol. II. p. 652.

They required for their refutation, a thorough knowledge of the general tenor of the Scriptures, and a keen discernment of the relations and distinctions between the doctrines of religion. There were metaphysical difficulties, which demanded a sound and vigorous understanding, capable of analyzing the operations of the mind, and acquainted, by personal experience, with the tendencies of a depraved heart, to darken and bias the intellect. There were practical questions, which must be solved by an actual observation of mankind. All these qualifications Mr. Fuller possessed in an unusual measure; and we have seen how he acquired them. Philology would have aided him, and would have preserved him from an occasional misinterpretation of a text; but the great contest was not a matter of philology. Had he been as profound a Greek scholar as Porson, or as thorough a critic in Hebrew as Gesenius, he would have been unfitted for his duties, if he had been destitute of those other qualifications which he acquired in the rough school of experience.

The case of Mr. Fuller cannot, therefore, be drawn into precedent, as an argument against regular study and deep learning. It is, rather, a proof, that there must be education, to prepare a man for the work which God assigns to him. But as that work is various in its nature, it requires a corresponding variety in the preparatory discipline. Extraordinary exigencies are provided for by special expedients. Moses was prepared for his duties by a wonderful train of providential events, beginning with his exposure in the bulrush ark. Luther was educated for his ministry, as the Samson, who hurled to the earth the pillars of popery, by his personal experience, as a monk, of its abominable corruptions. But these are not precedents for imitation. Men must prepare themselves for usefulness, by the ordinary means of discipline. Common minds need the advantages of academies and colleges, to give them the intellectual power which some persons have obtained in other ways. But these latter individuals, powerful as they may be in their appropriate sphere, cannot perform labors, for which a scholastic education is necessary. Bunyan wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*, without any knowledge of the classics; but he could not have written *Paradise Lost*. Fuller, though he wrote admirably on the nature and extent of the atonement, would not have been able to compile Magee's work on that subject. Though he assailed deism with irresistible power, yet he could not have composed Hall's *Sermon on Modern Infidelity*.

We will now pass to a consideration of some of Mr. Fuller's mental characteristics.

The prominent feature of his mind, as we have already remarked, was strong sense—a quality, which, though termed *common*, is, in its highest degrees, the most rare of mental endowments. Mr. Fuller was, in theology, what Franklin was, in philosophy. He applied his vigorous, clear, searching understanding to a subject, and it is wonderful to see, with what apparent ease, he analyzed it, and separated the truth from the errors which might have mingled with it. He was thus peculiarly fitted for the contests in which he was engaged. His common sense was like Ithuriel's spear; at its touch, an error, however disguised, assumed, at once, its natural mien and hideousness. This mighty weapon

“from the armory of God  
Was given him temper'd so, that neither keen  
Nor solid might resist that edge.”

Few theological writers have equalled him in plain, direct, robust force of understanding. Edwards, to whose works he often refers, with great respect, was not, perhaps, his superior, in this particular. Edwards surpassed him, and almost all other men, in acuteness. His mind had a wonderfully keen edge, which could pierce the most stubborn subject, and insert itself between truth and error, however close, and to most other minds, imperceptible, their union. But this faculty, though it was the gift of God to qualify him for his high function as the interpreter of the true philosophy of the will, gave him a propensity to subtle disquisition. He was prone to seek for causes and occult springs of action. The love of system had some influence over him, and he displayed amazing ingenuity and acumen in arranging the details and explaining the difficulties of a system. But this metaphysical cast of mind has made his writings less directly useful to the mass of men than they would otherwise have been. It was rather his province to act on intermediate minds, which might, like telegraphs, receive and transmit the announcements of his transcendent intellect.

Among contemporary writers, Dr. Scott, perhaps, most nearly resembled Mr. Fuller. Their early history was similar, and they learned common sense by the same process of discipline. Dr. Scott is accordingly the standard commentator for the people. His strong and sagacious understand-



ing was precisely fitted to instruct and sympathize with the common mind. He understood its habits of thought, its wants, and the style of address by which it might best be reached. But he had not the originality and vivacity of mind which Mr. Fuller possessed, and was therefore less qualified to be a reformer and a leader.

But we must take notice of another feature of Mr. Fuller's mind. With all its independence and force, it was never rash. There was no eccentricity—no capricious love of novel speculation—no disdain of ordinary rules of thought and action. His mind was admirably well proportioned and balanced—“*in seipso totus teres atque rotundus*.” He sought for truth with a single heart, and he stated the results in a simple, unaffected style. He treated acutely of metaphysics, yet there were no subtle distinctions and useless refinements of thought. He insisted on the duty of men to obey God, and demonstrated that the only obstacle lies in the obstinate depravity of the heart; but he did not rashly pass to the other and equally dangerous extreme, of urging men to the performance of their duty, in terms which would be liable to be understood as implying their independence on the influences of the Holy Spirit. He opposed various systems, and with “huge two-handed sway,” he demolished them; but he erected no system of his own. He proposed no theory, to be received and propagated as his. He desired only to bring men back to the old paths—to believe and practise the pure doctrines of the Scriptures. He wished no man to call him master; but he desired that all men would, with him, submit their hearts and minds to his divine Master. He asked no man to follow him; but he earnestly longed, that all mankind would join him in following the Saviour alone.

A characteristic of Mr. Fuller, which gives great value to his writings, is too remarkable to be omitted in this sketch.—It is the union of an independent and fearless exercise of reason, with an humble submission to the authority of the Scriptures. No man ever brought to the investigation of truth an intellect more unfettered, more watchful against mistake, and more inflexibly resolved to demand clear and full evidence. No great names could bias him. No party lines could circumscribe him. No sophistry could impose on him. He determined to examine for himself, and whatever he could not see to be founded on sufficient evidence, he

promptly rejected. No advocate of the dignity of reason could surpass him, in maintaining the right and the paramount duty of every man, to employ his reason in the search for truth, and to adopt no conclusions, without all the proof of which they are susceptible. Mr. Fuller's independence of mind was exhibited throughout his life. It placed him very early, in opposition to his pastor's opinions. He abandoned some of his own views, as soon as he was convinced that they were wrong, though they were still retained by some of his religious friends. He was, till his death, engaged in controversy with some persons whom he loved.

But Mr. Fuller had just views of the true office of reason in religion. He believed that its only province is, to ascertain, whether the Scriptures are the inspired word of God or not; and having settled this question in the affirmative, to inquire, what the Scriptures really teach. Here is the proper scope for reason, and thus Mr. Fuller employed it. He labored to learn the meaning of the Scriptures, and when he had ascertained it, he adopted it as his creed, on the authority of God. He deemed it no part of his duty to inquire why or how a certain truth is so; nor did he perplex his mind with fruitless speculations about things not revealed. The subjoined extract furnishes an example of his mode, at the age of twenty, of treating abstruse and unprofitable questions:

"I was much perplexed with the writings of Mr. John Johnson, of Liverpool, and for some time favored his sentiments. My pastor had, indeed, been one of his admirers. There were two things, in particular, for which he pleaded: that God did not and could not decree to permit evil, without being the author of it: and that he would have glorified his elect, though sin had never intervened. The way in which I obtained satisfaction as to the first was, I perceived that God *had* permitted evil, and that which he had done, it could not be wrong to decree or purpose to do, unless it were wrong to purpose to do what is right. And as to the second, I thought it was idle to speculate on what God could or would have done concerning his elect, if sin had never intervened, when all his revealed counsels went on the supposition of its existence; even the incarnation of his Son was to 'destroy the works of the devil.' Bunyan would have called these questions, 'nuts which spoil the children's teeth.' I have considered an attachment to them as resembling the chewing of certain narcotics, of which, though they are generally disagreeable at first, yet, by a little use of them, some persons become so fond, as to prefer them to their bread." \*

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\* Ryland's Life of Fuller, p. 27.

The following extract is an admirable specimen of independent reasoning, careful scrutiny, and humble deference to the authority of the Bible. It shows how an honest mind, under the control of a pious heart, may ascertain the truth, with very little aid from critical learning. Such a mind may misinterpret particular texts, and is, consequently, unfitted to be a public interpreter of the Scriptures; but it will not often err, in the general results. It is on this ground, that Protestants plead for the universal diffusion of the Bible. It is able to make men wise unto salvation, by directing and guiding them to the Saviour.

"When I first set out in the ministry, I had no other ideas of justification than those which are stated by Dr. Gill. 'Justification,' he says, 'may be distinguished into *active* and *passive*. Active justification is the act of God. *It is God that justifieth*. Passive justification is the act of God, terminating on the conscience of a believer, commonly called a transient act passing upon an external object. The former is an act internal and eternal, taken up in the divine mind from eternity, and is an immanent abiding one in it. It is, as Dr. Ames expresses it, a sentence conceived in the divine mind by the decree of justifying.'

"In his Bod. Div., Vol. II., p. 797, the Dr. speaks of justification as it 'terminates in the conscience of a believer, and which (he says) the Scriptures style justification *by faith*.'

"These, till within a few years, were my views. But thinking over these subjects, I felt dissatisfied. I felt, that my views did not quadrate with the Scriptures. I endeavored, therefore, to examine the matter closely. It occurred to me, that, whatever disputes had arisen on this subject, all parties that I had read, were agreed in considering justification *as the opposite* of condemnation. I found this idea also plentifully supported by the Scriptures: Deut. xxv. 1; 1 Kings viii. 32; Rom. viii. 33, 34. I, therefore, set myself to examine, What is *condemnation*? Is it, said I, the decree of God finally to condemn a sinner? No—for every unbeliever, elect or non-elect, is under condemnation, John iii. 18, 36; 'the wrath of God abideth on him.' Believers 'were by nature children of wrath, even as others.'—Saul, therefore, while a persecutor, was a child of wrath, or was under condemnation; yet God 'had not appointed him to wrath, but to obtain salvation by Jesus Christ.'

"Hence I concluded, if condemnation be not the decree of God finally to condemn, justification is not the decree of God finally to acquit. It also appeared to me inconsistent with the nature of things to conceive of justification, as Dr. Ames ex-

presses it, namely, as 'a sentence conceived in the divine mind;' for whatever purpose may be conceived in a judge's mind in favor of a prisoner, it is not justification till it is *declared* in open court.

"Further : Does condemnation, said I, consist in any *sense* or *persuasion* which a sinner possesses, that he shall be condemned ? No—for many who are under condemnation, according to the Scriptures, have no such persuasion, but the reverse, as was the case with the Jews, who were persuaded that God was their Father, while in fact they were of their father the devil ; and others, who are not under condemnation, according to the Scriptures, are yet at times under apprehension that they are so. But if condemnation, continued I, consists not in a sense or persuasion that we are or shall be condemned, justification consists not in a sense or persuasion that we are or shall be justified.

"On the whole, it seemed evident, that the sentence of justification was neither a purpose in the divine mind, nor a sense or persuasion in the human mind. The question then returned, What is it ? Still keeping hold of my clue, I proceeded to inquire, Is not condemnation that *state* or *condition* of a sinner, in which, according to the revealed will of God, in his holy law, all the threatenings and curses stand against him ? Is it not the same thing as a *being under the curse*, which all are, who are *of the works of the law*, whether they be elect or non-elect ? And if so, is not justification, that *state* or *condition* of a sinner, believing in Jesus, in which, according to the revealed will of God in the gospel, all the promises and blessings of the new covenant belong to him ? Is it not the same thing as a *being under grace*, (Rom. vi. 14.) and which is true only of believers ? The *sentence* of justification is not a revelation or manifestation of something to the mind which was true before, though unknown to the party ; but consists of the voice of God, *in the gospel*, declaring that whosoever believeth shall be saved. In this court, believers in Jesus stand acquitted from all things, from which they could not have been acquitted by the law of Moses."\*

It is this constant appeal to the Scriptures, as the ultimate standard, which makes Mr. Fuller a safe and valuable guide. Even where he changes the style of argument, to meet the case of those who do not admit the full inspiration of the Bible, and traces certain doctrines to their effects on individual and national character, he still keeps the Scriptures in view ; for the axiom from which he reasons, that a religion which came from God must promote holiness, depends on the fact, that God is such a Being as the Scriptures describe

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\* Vol. I. pp. 28, 29.

him. Mr Fuller thus carried the principles of true philosophy into his investigations of truth. Taking the Bible as a repository of ultimate facts, his inquiry was, in reference to any doctrine, does it agree with those facts? To this decisive test, his strong and fearless understanding brought every moral question. His success verifies a striking remark of president Wayland, that "it is the sublimest attribute of intelligence to see things as they are."\*

We will just allude to another mental characteristic of Mr. Fuller, which contributed greatly to his success. It was his entire command of his faculties. All his resources were so completely at his control, that he lost no time in preparing himself for action. He was always ready for duty. "Instead," says Mr. Morris, "of requiring a total seclusion from every interruption, or burying himself six feet deep in his study, in order to prepare the numerous publications, which, in one shape or other, were constantly issuing from his pen, he generally sat at his desk, surrounded with the members of his family, in their common sitting-room, where, with astonishing rapidity, he composed his various papers for the press, and maintained, at the same time, a most extensive and unremitted correspondence with the four quarters of the globe. He needed no excuse for delay, nor had any one cause to complain of his want of punctuality. If he wanted time to answer the numerous letters addressed to him, he made it by some exercise of self-denial, and was, in every thing, the determined enemy of procrastination."†

This power of mental exertion, amid confusion, is a very valuable one. A minister, especially in a populous town, greatly needs it. He is pressed with toils, and must study, if at all, amid many cares, and frequent interruptions. He is summoned from his books or his pen, by visitors, and if he has not the power of suspending and resuming a train of thought, he cannot fulfil his duties. Mr. Cecil was accustomed to continue the train of thought, while listening to a tedious visitor, a practice which cannot be recommended. Cotton Mather wrote over the door of his study, "*Be short*," as a useful hint to those friends who might value his time as little as they did their own—*fures temporis amici*. Mr. Cotton said, after being detained from his studies by unprofitable conversation, "I would rather have given that man

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\* Discourses, p. 337.

† Morris's Life of Fuller, p. 306.

a handful of money than have been thus hindered.”—The course adopted by Mr. Fuller was this: “Often,” says his wife, “when a friend or an acquaintance on a journey has called, when they had exchanged a few words, he would ask, “Have you any thing more to say?” or something to that effect—“if not, I must beg to be excused,” at the same time asking them to stay and take some refreshment, if they chose.”\* Washington had the same habit, whenever the hours devoted to visitors had passed, and other duties claimed his attention. A minister ought to be affable and attentive to all who have claims on him, but his time is too precious to be wasted, and he ought to have firmness enough to ask to be excused, when a visitor unnecessarily detains him from other duties.

Every man ought to strive, while young, to acquire the habit of abstracting his thoughts, and keeping his mind in action under any circumstances. This power is indispensable to eminent success in oratory. The minister is less aided, by circumstances, in acquiring it, than other public speakers. A lawyer’s mind is sharpened and made rapid by the collisions of the bar. A legislative orator must be prepared for sudden emergencies, and provided with replies to unexpected arguments. He must be collected amid surrounding excitement, and self-possessed amid opposition. He must speak, sometimes, when his audience are little inclined to listen, and occasionally when they are in a state of tumult, resembling that of the waves to which Demosthenes declaimed, when he was preparing himself for such scenes. The minister, on the contrary, has time for preparation; he expects no opponents; he meets with no interruption. He chooses his subject, and treats it as he pleases. His declarations are received with apparent acquiescence, and he is liable to be satisfied with arguments to which others appear to assent.—All this must affect his mental character; and it is not wonderful, that few ministers possess that rapidly creative mind, that promptitude and continuous flow of thought and expression, which are necessary to eminent success in extemporaneous speaking. It is, nevertheless, a very desirable attainment, and must be sought by early discipline, and by patient, long-continued effort.

Mr. Fuller is an example of the possibility of uniting lib-

eral charity with firmness of principle. He was inflexibly attached to his own views of truth, because he believed, that those views were in accordance with the Scriptures. He acted on the principle, that all revealed truth must be believed, and that every precept of God must be obeyed. In his opinion, there are no non-essential doctrines or commands, for if it were true, that a certain truth, or duty, is not essential to salvation, yet *obedience* is necessary to salvation. He made no sacrifices to expediency—no compromises. He was frank, decided, consistent. His judgment on questions of duty was settled, and nothing could move him. Yet he was not a bigot. He loved good men of every name. He held familiar intercourse with ministers and laymen of all denominations. To such men as Legh Richmond, Erskine, Chalmers, and Wilberforce, he was drawn by the affinities of a kindred spirit. Among all those who wept over his grave, and uttered his eulogy, no one shed tears of more sincere regret, and honored his memory with more affectionate and touching eloquence, than the Rev. Mr. Toller, the pastor of the Independent Church in Kettering, where, for nearly thirty years, they had labored together for their common Lord, with the uninterrupted harmony of brothers. The upright firmness and consistency of Mr. Fuller unquestionably secured for him more true respect, than a vacillating, pliable policy could have gained.

But we must close this article, with a brief comment on that feature of his character, which was its crowning glory—his true and vigorous piety. That he was a man of God—a man of prayer—a most sincere, devout Christian—is proved by his whole life after his conversion—by his diary—his letters—his daily demeanor—his patience under sore trials—his abundant labors as a pastor, as an author, and as the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. Love to God and man glowed in his heart. This softened the natural ruggedness of his character. This made him a reformer, without dogmatism, and a controversialist, without asperity.—It stimulated and sanctified his powerful mind. It impelled him to toil, with unremitted activity. It constrained him, in concert with that noble band of congenial souls, Carey, Pearce, Sutcliffe, and their associates, to commence the sublime enterprise of proclaiming Christ crucified to the ends of the earth. It prompted them to begin, in weakness, the Baptist Missionary Society, the pioneer of modern missions, and to establish

and sustain, amid opposition and difficulties, of the most formidable kind, the mission to India. This urged him to preach, and write, and travel, on its behalf, till he sunk, under his accumulated toils, into the grave. His life was a comment on his doctrines. His death was an appropriate termination of such a career. He dwelt not, in his last hours, on the integrity of his conduct, or the magnitude of his labors. He said, "I have a hope, in the strength of which I think I could plunge into eternity;" but that hope was founded entirely on the atonement of the Saviour. Among his last words, was this precious text: "*Looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.*"

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of adding the beautiful sketch of Mr. Fuller's character, drawn by the lamented Hall:

"I cannot refrain from expressing, in a few words, the sentiments of affectionate veneration with which I always regarded that excellent person while living, and cherish his memory, now that he is no more; a man whose sagacity enabled him to penetrate to the depths of every subject he explored, whose conceptions were so powerful and luminous, that what was recondite and original appeared familiar, what was intricate, easy and perspicuous in his hands; equally successful in enforcing the practical, in stating the theoretical, and discussing the polemical branches of theology. Without the advantages of early education, he rose to high distinction among the religious writers of his day; and in the midst of a most active and laborious life, left monuments of his piety and genius, which will survive to distant posterity. Were I making his eulogium, I should necessarily dwell on the spotless integrity of his private life, his fidelity in friendship, his neglect of self-interest, his ardent attachment to truth, and especially the series of unceasing labors and exertions in superintending the mission to India, to which he most probably fell a victim. He had nothing feeble or undecisive in his character; but to every undertaking in which he engaged, he brought all the powers of his understanding, all the energies of his heart; and if he were less distinguished by the comprehension than the acumen and solidity of his thoughts—less eminent for the gentler graces than for stern integrity and native grandeur of mind, we have only to remember the necessary limitation of human excellence."



## ARTICLE VII.

## PRESENT SYSTEM OF JURISPRUDENCE.

*Address delivered at the Dedication of Dane Law College, in Harvard University. By Josiah Quincy, L.L.D., President of the University. 1832.*

It is our object, in this article, to demonstrate the absolute necessity which exists to human society of our system of jurisprudence, under its present organization. We are induced to undertake this work, because there is in this age and country a large measure of influence, strongly prejudiced against the legal institution, and as its agents, against the members of the legal profession.

A body of men have sprung up in modern times, who allege, that its aim is *not* the establishment of justice, that it stretches out its broad meshes like the Serbonian bog, to entrap the unwary, that it is the refuge of rogues; and that lawyers, as a class, are commonly their accessories, before and after the fact. This charge we believe is destitute of foundation. There are men, no doubt, who are ready to take advantage of legal technicalities, in order to advance their own fraudulent objects, and there are lawyers who are dishonest enough to exercise their professional knowledge by aiding and abetting in these frauds. But this is not so far true as to substantiate any general charge against the system or the members of the profession. The acts of a few unauthorized individuals, furnish no solid arguments against a whole class of men, in a respectable calling, or any good reason why a whole system ought to be overthrown. Every body knows that black-hearted villains may be found in all professions. But does any man of common sense claim, that, because there are such individuals among the clergy, and these have been exhibited in all ages, the Christian fabric ought therefore to be demolished?

In the first place, we shall endeavor to show that law, as applied to the social condition of mankind, and as it is at present framed and administered, is the best organ for the

advancement of human justice. What is law? Blackstone says that "law is a rule of action." This of course is its broadest definition. It governs all matter and all mind. It is the foundation of the natural sciences. It regulates matter in all its relations and magnitudes, from the mote which glitters in the sunbeam, to the stupendous movements of the heavenly bodies. It controls all the intellectual operations of mankind, from the dawning thought of infancy, to the matured and mighty energies of giant genius. It governs men, as members of the social compact, in their life, liberty and property, from the minutest interest of the most obscure individual, to those great international rights which regard whole empires. To meet its own objects, it ought, in its action upon all these subjects, to be stable, universal, immovable. A suspension of the laws of nature, would throw the universe into chaos and thick darkness; and the suspension of municipal law, would, there is no doubt, bring upon the social system the same disorganizing consequences. The only difference in the two cases would be probably this—that whereas matter is passive, the effect produced upon the physical world would be negative, springing from a suspension of natural law; while in the other instance, the malignancy of human passions, and the desire of human aggrandizement, free from any bond of restraint, would occasion more tremendous influences. Such consequences have been exhibited invariably, where the social fabric has been so shattered as to weaken the force of the law. Every country in which there is a laxity of legal restraint, evinces a partial disorganization. During the passage of the reform bill, through the British parliament, the London mob were as reckless as a stormy ocean; and Paris, during the revolution under Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, was like a den of blood-thirsty tigers.

We hold, then, that it is necessary there should be some established law, which should operate with energy upon the whole body of the people, and that the existing system is the most stable, solid, just, and energetic. We shall endeavor to show the whole frame of the fabric, and, in order to ascertain whether its foundations are strong, of what doctrines they are constituted. These foundations were laid, we grant, in dark ages. The common law had its origin from the first establishment of the Roman empire, and before the full blaze of knowledge had been poured

upon the world ; but the great body of those "unwritten reasons," which regulated all the rights growing out of social relations, were established upon sound and equitable doctrines. Indeed, the principles which were advanced in the Roman Institutes, the Pandects and the Code, were embodied into the English jurisprudence, in opposition to the most formidable national prejudices, *because* they were founded upon the broad doctrines of everlasting justice.

There is, in fact, a *prima-facie* evidence that the body of the common law is just, in the main, in the fact that it is established upon custom, which has been supported by the voluntary consent of the great mass of the people under its administration, from immemorial ages. It is indeed essential to the validity of the common law, that the customs upon which it is founded, should be reasonable. Hence, *malus usus abolendus est*, is an established maxim of the law. "Nothing which is against reason is law," says Sir Edward Coke, "for reason is the life of the law, nay, the common law itself is nothing but reason, which is to be understood of an artificial perfection of reason, gotten by long study, observation and experience, and not of every man's natural reason, for *nemo nascitur artifex*, no man is born an artist ! this legal reason is the perfection of reason, and therefore if all the reason, in so many several heads, were united into one, yet could he not make such a law, as the law of England is, because by many successions of ages, it hath been fined and refined, by an infinite number of grave and learned men, and by long experience grown to such a perfection, for the government of this realm, as the old rule may be justly verified of it, *Neminem oportet esse sapientiores legibus*, no man out of his own private reason, ought to be wiser than the law, which is the perfection of reason." Co. Lit. 97 b. If a custom is found to be unjust, the law, based upon it, is and ought to be abolished, for 'that which is not reason is not law.' Certain laws, therefore, grounded upon custom, which had grown up in dark ages, and which did not apply to the enlightened state of modern times, have been repealed by statute. The "*lex scripta*," has been gradually bringing about a reform upon the "*lex non scripta*," to suit the advancement of human knowledge, and human justice. If we examine the fundamental doctrines of the common law, as modified to present usage, we find them based upon the

clearest doctrines of common right. The interests of life, liberty and property, are its broad foundation. These are the subject of all legislation, and their security the object of all law. The principles upon which the common law is founded, appeal to the common sense of mankind, in all ages and in every quarter of the globe. For instance, does any man of common sense doubt, that an individual has a right to that life which was granted to him by his Maker, under ordinary circumstances, unless he has forfeited it by crime? Is not his right of personal liberty equally clear, viz. the right to the privilege of locomotion, unless he has forfeited this right by dishonesty, or by infringing upon the right of property; and has he not an equal right to that property, which is the offspring of his own labor, unless it is forfeited by crime? The conviction of mankind, of the justice of these laws, does not spring from the municipal regulations of any nation or age. It is founded on common sense, on intuitive knowledge. All mankind know it as clearly as that  $2+2=4$ . It is justice, unchangeable, self-evident, and everlasting. Now the law-system acts upon these rights by its mighty engine, in order to establish them among mankind, and to enforce them by fixed decrees. These principles of equity which constitute the grand features of the law, govern in an equal degree its subordinate branches. Let us examine them in reference to the subject of evidence.

The object of all evidence, no doubt, is to acquire a knowledge of facts. To establish certain rights or certain wrongs, it is clearly necessary that the facts which go to substantiate these rights or wrongs, should be exhibited before the mind of those who are to decide upon them, be they judges or jury. For this object, therefore, the law makes use of certain organs. It selects the best organs which can be obtained, and erects around them formidable barriers for the prevention of fraud. It bars the evidence of all interested persons, because it assumes that their interest will bias their judgment. It invalidates an illegal contract, because it is illegal. It disallows mere hearsay evidence, on account of its uncertainty. It prohibits leading questions, because these may mislead the testimony of the weak-minded. It encourages cross-examinations, in order to prevent perjury. It protects the contract of an infant, because it assumes the incapacity of his judgment. It requires a sound mind, and a conviction of the obligation of an

oath, because it strengthens the bond which binds the witness to the truth.

Now the same principles apply to all the subjects of common law jurisdiction. The whole law of insurance is founded upon these principles of common justice. It is required that an insured ship be sea-worthy when she commences her voyage. This requisition is founded obviously upon the ground, that the underwriters of a policy of insurance, ought to know the conditions of their contract, and that these conditions ought to be certain and stable. The same principle applies also to the law of bailments, the interpretation of statutes, and that law which regards principal and accessory. In the first of these cases, the law demands, that a bailor, who receives a deposit to be transferred *without salary*, shall take a reasonable care of such deposit, viz., that care which an ordinary man would be expected to take of his own property. In the second case mentioned, a statute is construed, to mean that which was the object of its framers, when the law was established. The obvious cause of this is, that it may not be left open to loose and arbitrary construction, but that it may advance that object, and that object alone, for which it was framed. In the last case, the law regards the accessory equally culpable with the principal; because the motive, which is the foundation of all crime, is the same in both; they are both equally dangerous to society, and by consequence, their punishment would be equally beneficial to mankind, because the criminal code was established altogether for the protection of the innocent, by the punishment of the guilty.

But the great body of the common law is founded not only upon principles of justice, but upon the clearest principles of humanity. Throughout its whole administration, it applies a remedy to every wrong. *Tutius semper est errare in acquitiendo quam puniendo, ex parte misericordiae quam ex parte justitiae*, is a maxim of Sir Matthew Hale, and this is confirmed by all legal usage. It is better that ninety-nine guilty men escape, than that one innocent man suffer. A man is assumed to be innocent, until he is proved guilty, are established doctrines of the law. Hence, in order to conviction of a criminal offence, it requires conclusive proof. It favors in a great measure the criminal. To substantiate a criminal charge, it requires evidence which shall establish a hypothesis, to the exclusion of every other hypothesis. In

the elucidation of this principle of jurisprudence, viz. in relation to the measure of evidence required in criminal offences, we were struck with a beautiful comparison of Hon. Jeremiah Mason, an eminent lawyer, now of Massachusetts, in a recent capital case of great importance in the State of Rhode Island. In this trial he remarked, that criminal evidence, and especially that which regards capital offences, is like a ship which ought to be well constructed, staunch and strong, and built of solid timber, and if there is defect in any part of the beams, the whole fabric is unsound. This principle, which applies to crimes of the greatest magnitude, governs in a great measure, all crimes. Whatever may be the act, unless the motive which prompted it is clearly proved to be base, the accused is acquitted by the law. The writ of habeas corpus, and the trial by jury, the two grand bulwarks of civil liberty, tending to protect the personal rights of the subject, and which are the offspring of enlightened legislation, go to establish the same fact. Indeed, if we trace the principles of the whole system, those which regard the individual liberty of the subject, as well as the rights of property, throughout all their modifications, we find they are in strict conformity to the doctrines of an enlarged humanity.

The question therefore arises, Ought the law system to remain as it is at present organized? We hold that it is the only frame of civil polity which can effectually secure justice to mankind. In surveying that mighty engine, which, among civilized nations, has for ages brought all human conduct to its own standard of justice, we are struck with the profoundest admiration. We cannot but wonder, that a system should be established for civil society, energetic enough to bring all mankind to its subjection, which has grasped crime with an iron hand, which has built up a solid bulwark around civil rights, which has been a severe and unyielding judge upon human conduct, which has brought all human affairs to its own test, which has governed the most formidable of human passions, while at the same time it has been the only source of social order and social justice to mankind. It is the embodied sovereignty of a state, the sole depository of the public will and the public power, and as such is omnipotent. Acting upon stable and righteous decrees, it defines the path of duty, while at the same time it affixes penalties upon disobedience. It has investigated

the whole subject of human rights, both natural and adventitious, and has erected a system, obligatory upon the whole body of mankind, founded upon these rights. It has not operated upon community by sudden decrees, springing from party, and fluctuating with the passions of the body politic; but acts by fixed principles, clear, certain, and salutary, like the laws which govern the universe.

The law, then, is a system sure and stable, acting by express and uniform decrees, and governing the whole body of a civilized community. In a free government, it will always act with impartiality upon every class of its subjects. It operates through judges and jury, all under oath, to administer justice to the best of their knowledge. It is the office of the former to define what the law is, and that of the jury to determine upon the facts which are alleged, to constitute an infraction of that law. The judges are set apart from the mass of men, as having gone through the '*lucubrationes viginti annorum*,' and as being enabled therefore to establish legal justice. If found intentionally unjust, they are liable to impeachment. The other tribunal—the jury—is admirably calculated for the investigation of truth. Through this body, the facts of a case come before the cognizance, not of one judge, who is liable of course to err, but before twelve men, selected from the mass of the people, for their sound character, and sound judgment, and who are liable to attain or challenge if they are suspected of being partial or dishonest.

The other class who have immediate connection with legal questions, are the lawyers, who make the study of the law the whole business of their life. They are not, we believe, as a body, men whose sole object is to show the abandoned what lurking places they may find in the temple of justice, to shield them from the consequences of their dishonesty; but to counsel mankind in what mode they can keep within the bounds of legal requisition, and in what mode they may establish their rights. Indeed, it ought to be, and always is, the business of every honest lawyer, to discourage fraud, and to lend the whole energy of his mind to bring it to conviction. It is a fact, no doubt, that there are a pretty large body of men in the legal profession, as well as in every other, devoid of principle, and whose whole object is gain, and who, by consequence, make themselves acquainted with

the *crooks* and *crannies* of the law, for the single purpose of aiding fraud in depredating upon the labors of honest industry. Such men, nobody can doubt, are a disgrace to the profession, and a disgrace to mankind. They are polluted priests of justice. They light their torch at its altar to burn the temple. They ought, therefore, to be shut out from all companionship with the profession, because the character of the whole body is blackened by their contact.

We deem the duties of a good lawyer, to be altogether consistent with the duties of an honest man. He ought to hold himself out to the public, as a minister of justice, not as an agent of crime. He ought to consider himself as the guardian of human rights, and in the open exercise of his duty, he ought to defend these rights, and hurl his thunders against their invaders alone. It has, we are aware, been a prevalent habit with lawyers, to consider their fortune and their fate as bound up in the interest of their client, and by consequence, to leave no measures untried, whereby they could advance his cause. Now we advocate as much as any man, the exercise of a salutary interest by the counsel in the cause of his employer, but we do not believe that it is his duty to sacrifice any degree of principle, or conscientious conviction to his advantage. He should establish himself upon broad principles of justice, and labor upon these manfully for his cause, but never be driven off, either in attack or defence.

It is, no doubt, attributable to the dishonesty of such men as we have described, who have urged on the ignorant to expensive litigation, and in fact to their own ruin, that such a deep-rooted prejudice has gone abroad against the profession at large. Lawyers, as a body, from the very nature of their pursuits, which regard so large a part of human rights and human duties, must ever have a great influence in community. From their ranks, generally, will be selected the legislators and magistrates of a nation. It belongs to them, therefore, to rescue their profession from the opprobrium cast upon it by the class which we have mentioned, by reprobating the conduct of its unworthy members, and by conforming themselves to solid principle.

We have said, that municipal law in every civilized community is uniform and stable. Such is its condition, emphatically, under all free governments. It professes to be established upon principles of justice. Justice is the same



in all nations and all ages, not depending upon local circumstances, or particular epochs, but springing from the nature of things; and, by consequence, all law founded upon it, must be certain and enduring. It is manifest, that the general character of the law has been modified by the particular circumstances which led to its establishment. Hence, we find the local laws of different ages tinctured with the spirit of the times, insomuch as to afford frequently a subject of ridicule and sarcasm in the present advanced state of human knowledge. Such is the character of the law of attain, or corruption of blood, the ordeal by fire and by water, the *corsned*, the writ *de heretico comburendo*, and the trial by *battel*, and that code which was more recently established—perhaps rather unfortunately for the reputation of our ancestors—for the regulation of the colony of Connecticut, better known by the title of “blue laws.” But the law, as a body, has been gradually changing from the time of the feudal system, to suit the growing wants and increasing intelligence of mankind; so that we now have a more salutary legal institution than that of any age since the creation of the world. From a few general principles, it has been moulded into a stupendous and well-proportioned fabric; and although, like the Parthenon, it may have here and there a cumbrous column not necessary to its support, or a massive recess of no practical importance, it is a glorious and proper object of reverence and admiration to man.

The same causes, which originally led to the establishment of civil society, induce the necessity of our present system of jurisprudence. Before the organization of the original compact of society, there was no law, probably, but that of physical force. Consequently, no man could hold property in security, unless he could command sufficient physical strength for its defence. The weakest, therefore, in the community, however industrious and frugal they might be, were always subject to the aggressions of the strongest. There was then no common standard of right which was open to all, and by which all were governed. Mankind, by surrendering a portion of their natural liberty into one public organ, established a compact. It makes no difference whether this compact was express or implied—its offspring was law. All mankind under this compact were its subjects, and all were bound by its conditions. Its sole design was to hold community to the line of justice, and to secure them in

their individual rights by establishing a requisition of universal obligation and binding force. During the infancy of society, the law must of course have been simple, because its jurisdiction was pretty much confined to the subject of animal wants. But its boundaries were gradually enlarged as society advanced. As human transactions magnified in variety and importance, and the general interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, became more broadly established, it became necessary to extend and modify the law, in order to suit these growing emergencies. In this mode there is no doubt, from a few simple maxims or requisitions, it has been gradually changing into its present beauty, proportion, and all-embracing magnitude.

If, then, the law in every civilized community is a stable and uniform system, founded mainly upon principles of equity, it is not merely the best system, but the only system for the advancement of human justice. It acts by certain rules, which every body ought to know and acknowledge. It is the friend of virtue, the enemy to vice. It holds out reward to honesty, but its chains, and bolts, and bars, and dungeons, to crime.

One of the main objections of the opponents of the present system of jurisprudence is, that, since it is an expensive establishment, oppressive upon the poor, it should give place to courts of arbitration. We are convinced, however, that such a substitution would lead to absolute anarchy and the confusion of human rights. There are, without doubt, some cases of little importance where this course would be advantageous to the litigant parties, but it would not be advisable in questions of great magnitude. Private interest, prejudice, dishonesty, would, under such circumstances, be exercised in a thousand modes, so that the rights of individuals, or rather their exercise, would be determined in a great measure by chance. Against all these disadvantages, however, the law has established a solid bulwark. For the clearer investigation of truth, it has provided the test oath and the rules of evidence, which exclude every thing, but that which will throw a knowledge of *facts* upon the litigated question. How could this benefit be obtained, when depending upon the loose constructions of inexperienced men, and under the ordinary forms of arbitration? How great a measure of prejudice, uncertainty, and error, must be embodied in the judgments, which are founded upon undisciplined views of

right, and depending in no degree upon the concise rules of a court of justice? What stable and uniform decisions could exist in that state of things, where there are as many judges as cases; or what sure standard for the government of all social transactions could be established, where there are no certain rules, and no legally organized tribunal? Upon what basis could men regulate their transactions, when they know that there is not any concise law by which they would be tested, but that all their rights would be determined by the loose constructions of arbitrary establishments? Under these circumstances, there would be no security for individual contracts—there would probably be as many clashing decisions as adjudicated cases.

There is a certainty in the rules of law, under its existing organization, however, which, in a well established court, is admirably calculated to probe truth from its foundations. It exhibits to all mankind a common standard of legal right, by which all human conduct may be governed. Through its agency, men understand the basis of all their social transactions—by what principles they will be tested. Here there is no collision. All is stable, uniform, certain. Men regulate their acts in the clear conviction of their consequences. In the magnificent language of Tully, "*Non est alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac, sed et apud omnes gentes, et omni tempore, una eademque, lex obtinet.*"

It is clear, that the energies of society would be in a great measure paralyzed, if there was no certain law, the test of right, which should govern mankind in their social relations. Indeed, the stability of the law marks out a secure channel for human enterprise and human industry. It is idle to allege, that a few general rules, applying to courts of arbitration, would supersede the *expense* of litigation, and, at the same time, establish individual rights upon an equally solid foundation. No system of general rules could be instituted, which should embrace all litigated cases. It is seldom that two questions arise in our courts of law precisely similar in every point. On the contrary, cases are constantly arising in these courts, unlike all which preceded them, from the circumstances by which they are modified. A system of general rules embodied into a code, moreover, has once been tried. This fact is exhibited in the establishment of the "code Napoleon," by Buonaparte, the emperor of France. That institution was framed by some of the most eminent of

the French lawyers, on account of the local collisions which prevailed in different parts of the French empire. But, although it was one of the noblest monuments of the genius of Napoleon, and the most perfect system of the kind which has ever been devised, it was not sufficient to meet the demands of justice. It was instituted, also, on account of the prejudices which had for a long time existed against the profession at large; and we shall exhibit its influence, as developed by Sir Walter Scott, who may be received as authority on this point, having been somewhat conversant with inns of court. In comparing the French code with the English system of jurisprudence, he makes the following remarks:

“Now, in this point, which comprehends the very essence and end of all jurisprudence,—the protection, namely, of the rights of the individual,—the English law is preferable to the French in an incalculable degree; because each principle of English law has been the subject of illustration for many ages, by the most learned and wise judges, acting upon pleadings conducted by the most acute and ingenious men of each successive age. This current of legal judgments has been flowing for centuries, deciding, as they occurred, every question of doubt which could arise upon the application of general principles to particular circumstances; and each individual case, so decided, fills up some point which was previously disputable, and, becoming a rule for similar questions, tends to that extent to diminish the debatable ground of doubt and argument with which the law must be surrounded, like an unknown territory when it is first partially discovered. To make a practical application of what we have stated, to the relative jurisprudence of France and England, it may be remarked, that the title 5th of the first book of the civil code, upon the subject of marriage, contains only one hundred and sixty-one propositions respecting the rights of parties, arising in different circumstances out of that contract, the most important known in civilized society. If we deduce from this gross amount, the great number of rules which are not doctrinal, but have only reference to the forms of procedure, the result will be greatly diminished. The English law, on the other hand, besides its legislative enactments, is guarded, as appears from Roper’s Index, by no less than a thousand decided cases, or precedents, each of which affords ground to rule any other case in similar circumstances. In this view, the certainty of the law of England, compared to that of France, bears the proportion of ten to one.

“It is, therefore, a vulgar, though a natural and pleasing error, to prefer the simplicity of an ingenious and philosophic code of

jurisprudence, to a system which has grown up with a nation, augmented with its wants, extended according to its civilization, and only become cumbrous and complicated, because the state of society to which it applies, has itself given rise to a complication of relative situations, to all of which, the law is under the necessity of adapting itself.

"In this point of view, the code of France may be compared to a warehouse, built with much attention to architectural uniformity, showy in the exterior, and pleasing from the simplicity of its plan, but too small to hold the quantity of goods necessary to supply the public demand; while the common law of England resembles the vaults of some huge gothic building, dark, indeed, and ill arranged, but containing an immense store of commodities, which those acquainted with its recesses, seldom fail to be able to produce, to such as have occasion for them. The *pratiques*, or adjudged cases, in fact, form a break-water, as it were, to protect the more formal bulwark of the statute law; and although they cannot be regularly jointed or dove-tailed together, each independent decision fills its space on the mound, and offers a degree of resistance to innovation, and protection to the law, in proportion to its own weight and importance." \*

The great mass of adjudged cases, which have been accumulating through a long series of ages, and which form the body of common law reports, entitled by Blackstone "the grand repository of the law," as they are founded upon uniform and consistent principles, constitute landmarks, as it were, by which the judge is to be guided in his decisions. We do not mean to be understood, however, that he is bound to these by adamant chains, because it is manifest that there are many decisions which are not of binding force, whose validity has passed away with the corruptions of the dark ages in which they have been founded. It is clear, however, that with such an array of authority, bearing upon almost every legal principle, all departure from precedent, must be justified upon strong ground.

We have before mentioned, that the law, as a science, has been gradually improving with the growth of intelligence and freedom. This is emphatically true in reference to the criminal code. In 1765, Sir William Blackstone remarked, "It is a melancholy truth, that among the variety of actions which men are daily most liable to commit, no less than one hundred and sixty have been declared by act of parliament,

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\* Scott's Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, B. I. c. 56, pp. 475, 476.

to be felonies without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death."\* It appears, however, by "an analysis of, and digested index to, the criminal statutes," published in 1829, that the crimes in England, which, at that time, subjected the offender to death, were only forty-four. In the same proportion throughout the whole system of jurisprudence, in this country as well as in England, the spirit of reform is working out the most beneficial consequences. In this republic, especially, the science of the law, as well as the means of its acquisition, is undergoing a thorough improvement. Formerly it was a mystical system, hedged in behind the black letter dialect, "a composite of indifferent English, bad Latin, and worse French," inaccessible to all but the initiated, as the dungeons of the inquisition. But in modern times, this chaotic mass has been moulded into a well proportioned science, orderly and comprehensible. Law schools have been established in different parts of the country, at the head of which, probably, in magnitude, importance, and the advantages which it affords for the acquisition of legal knowledge, stands the Dane Foundation of Harvard. Before that institution, the address, whose title stands at the head of this article, was delivered. Mr. Quincy, in that production, takes a broad and comprehensive view of the science of the law, as it has existed in past ages, and its improvement in our own times; and we would recommend it to the perusal of all those who may wish to acquire a knowledge of these circumstances, in allusion to which he makes the subjoined remarks.

"'Laws,' says Montesquieu, 'are the necessary relations resulting from the nature of things.' Now the relations of things in Great Britain, from which country our laws are chiefly derived, were, during the early periods of its historic existence, antecedent to the Norman conquest, those which naturally exist among a rude, uncultivated people, ignorant of letters. During that whole time, a knowledge of the laws was necessarily sought among its rough professors, habituated practically to pursue its loose, evanescent principles, as they were continually modified by faction, insurrection, civil wars, invasion, and conquest. Strictly speaking, there were no sciences known in the nation, with which the law could be connected as an associate of the band.

"Nor was the state of things greatly different after the era of the Norman conquest, and even down to the beginning of the

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\* Blackstone's Commentaries, B. I. c. 5, p. 18.

last century. In the successive contests which, in the course of that long period, arose between the crown and the nobility, the people and the crown, the hierarchy and the reformers, the principles of the law followed the fates of the court, the camp, or the church. They were instruments, of which each party, in its power, availed itself to strengthen its own cause, or to depress that of his adversary, and they were shaped, or changed, according to the perpetually shifting influences of the times. 'Antecedent to the revolution of 1688, the oracles of the law were dependent upon the caprice of the crown; men of pliant dispositions were raised to the bench; justice gave way to policy, and was converted into means of revenge.' During far the greater part of that period, as a great system of universal reason, deduced from the nature of things, and adapted to fix society on the immutable foundations of truth and justice, the English law was hardly considered by any, except perhaps by some of its most eminent professors. Strange fictions, customs of unknown origin, precedents whose reasons were hidden in an unexplored antiquity, interminable forms, mystifying verbiage, and repulsive technicalities, deprived it of all claim, in the eyes of the philosopher, as well as in those of the multitude, to the rank of a branch of knowledge resting on fixed principles. Its language was trilingual; a composite of indifferent English, bad Latin, and worse French. Its shape, 'if shape it might be called, which shape had none,' was 'stained with the variation of each soil betwixt' the Euxine and the Baltic; Grecian, Roman, German, Saxon, Danish, Norman. In the arrangement of these contending elements, to the uninitiated eye, 'Chaos seemed to sit umpire,' and 'high arbiter Chance to govern all.' To manage these elements was an art to be learned; an affair altogether of practical skill, which the young lawyer was sent to the Inns of Court to acquire, precisely, and for the same reason, as the young soldier was sent to the camp to acquire the military art; to the end that, amid scenes of actual contest, each might learn the nature of the materials, and gain a facility in the use of the weapons for attack and defence, of their respective arts; in both of which victory was the sole object, and the means of success, equally, the subject of no scruple.

"This state of things continued until after the commencement of the last century. Antecedent to that period, Sir Matthew Hale had indeed composed an 'Analysis of the Law,' for the purpose, as he avowed, of showing that 'it was not altogether impossible, by much attention and labor, to reduce the laws of England, at least into a tolerable method.' This analysis was nothing more than an incomplete outline, of use, comparatively, to none except professors of the law, or professional students. So little progress had been made, either by Sir Matthew Hale or by any other jurist, in the work of reducing the laws of England into an orderly

method, that Thomas Wood, who, in 1722, engaged in the same design, represents it as thought to be wholly 'impracticable,' and states that the prejudice, even among men of parts and learning prevailed, that a knowledge of the English laws was only to be obtained by 'the greatest application and a long attendance on the highest courts of justice, and by a tedious wandering about.' He refers to the law, as 'an art which one is to teach,' and so far from speaking of it as a science, to be sought in its great and general principles, he calls it '*a heap of good learning, which he hoped it would not be impossible to sort and put into some order.*' He laments the arts of 'pettyfogging, sophistry, and cavil,' as too prevalent. He represents the ways of the law to be 'dark and rugged, and full of turnings and windings.' These he declares it to be his intent to endeavor to 'smooth and shorten,' and thus enable the student 'to travel in a straight line.'

"For more than fifty years this work of Thomas Wood was the cynosure of the law-student in this country; to which he was taught first to direct his eye, and by which to guide his steps. Yet how dull, how repulsive does this work appear to the law-student of the present day! How would he *reluct* at entering upon the study of the law, and deem himself cast into a wilderness, without map or compass, if this were the only great light by which he was first to direct his course!

"Now it is a curious fact, and illustrative of the topic of this address, that the first successful attempt to reduce the English law into an orderly system, and to give it effectively the character of a science, was made under the auspices of a university. To the establishment of the Vinerian Professorship, at Oxford, the English law was indebted for the Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone, pronounced by Sir William Jones to be 'an incomparable work; and the most correct and beautiful outline that was ever exhibited of any human science.'

"The publication of that work formed a new era in the study of the law, both in this country and in Great Britain. From that time the law assumed the aspect of a well-defined science, which had its limits, its proportions, its divisions, its principles, its objects, all arranged in an orderly method, facilitating research, aiding the memory, and making every step of the student's progress light and satisfactory.

"How different is the lot of the student at this day, from that of him, who entered upon the pursuit of the law before the appearance of that work. By way of illustration, hear a very condensed abstract of Lord Chief Justice Reeve's directions for the first stage in the study of the law:

"— Read Wood's *Institutes* cursorily, and for explanation of the same, Jacob's *Dictionary*. Next strike out what lights you can from Bohun's *Institutio Legalis*, and Jacob's *Practising*



Attorney's Companion, and the like; helping yourself by Indexes. Then read and consider Littleton's Tenures, without notes, and abridge it. Then venture on Coke's Commentaries. After reading it once, read it again; for it will require many readings. Abridge it. Common-place it. Make it your own; applying to it all the faculties of your mind. Then read Serjeant Hawkins to throw light on Lord Coke. Then read Wood again to throw light on Serjeant Hawkins. And then read the statutes at large to throw light on Mr. Wood.'—

"It will not be necessary to adduce further evidence upon this point. Enough has been said to place in a strong light the advantages derived by the student of law from the great work of Sir William Blackstone. For the purpose of the present argument, let it be borne in mind, that this work was the first fruits of the connection between the English law and the English universities.

"Now when we recollect that it is an admitted fact, that a great proportion of the boasted wisdom of the English common law, was required by a silent transfer into it of the wisdom of the Roman law, through the medium of the courts of justice, and that thereby the English law was 'raised from its original state of rudeness and imperfection;' and when we also recollect, that a knowledge of the Roman law itself was first introduced into England, early in the twelfth century, by the means of Professorships, established by the monks and clergy at Oxford, and through the influence of public lectures delivered by their Professors; and when to these facts is added the undeniable and unparalleled benefit conferred upon the study of the English law, by this work of Blackstone, itself the fruit of the connection of the study of the science of the law with that of the other sciences in the university of Oxford, is it not indeed wonderful, that doubts concerning the utility of such Professorships should be entertained, even at this day, in England, and by men, also, who are eminent for their legal rank and attainments? That such is the fact, we learn from the 'Introductory Lecture delivered at King's College, London,' in November, 1831, by Mr. Park, 'Professor of English Law and Jurisprudence to the College.'

"Nor can it be concealed, that similar doubts are sometimes expressed, even in this country; though, from the habits of the community being less fixed, and the spirit of innovation more congenial to its constitution than is the case in Great Britain, probably with less universality as it respects numbers, and less eminence as it respects talents; it being generally understood, that by far the greater number of those, who are distinguished lights of the law, in this country, hail the establishment of such Professorships, as constituting a union highly propitious to the improvement of the law, and to the elevation of the character of the profession.

"It will not, however, be amiss to give to this topic a more detailed examination, to the end that the community may be made to understand the real advantages to be anticipated from this engrafting of the study of the law upon seminaries destined for public education; and that lawyers themselves may be made more truly to appreciate the privileges they and their profession must derive from this association.

"Lord Bacon, a great master-mind of our race, has stated, in his conclusive way, the general doctrine, and given the sound reason for it. 'To disincorporate,' says he, 'any particular science from general knowledge, is one great impediment to its advancement. For there is a supply of light and information, which the particulars and instances of one science do yield and present for the framing and correcting the axioms of another science, in their very truth and notion. For each particular science has a dependence upon universal knowledge, to be augmented and rectified by the superior light thereof.'

"In no way, perhaps, can the truth of this doctrine be better illustrated, than by the history of the progress of the English law, from its ancient, barbarous, and perplexed, to its present cultivated and lucid state. So long as it was 'disincorporated from general knowledge,' and pursued exclusively under the guidance of professional men, in the Inns of Courts, or in offices of practitioners, its outline was obscure, its aspect forbidding and mysterious; none dared to pretend to master it, except the regularly initiated; and to some of these, its reason was a closed book, which they had not the strength or patience to open. No sooner, however, was the Common Law introduced among the branches of university education, than it became liberalized and refined. Its particular light was 'augmented and rectified by the superior light of universal knowledge.' Its foreign jargon was abandoned. Its technicalities were diminished. If we were to say that all the improvements, which have been introduced into the study and science of the law since the middle of the last century, were the consequence of the publication of the single work of Blackstone, we should assert, perhaps, more than we could prove, though possibly not more than is true. That work introduced the science of the English law to the acquaintance of men of general science. It was no longer a study from which such men were repelled, by the wildness of its aspect and the impervious barbarousness of its terms. By the labors of Blackstone the rough scene was changed. After the publication of his work, men of general science began to think and to speak of the English law, as of a subject which could be understood without the exclusive devotion of a whole life to it. Professional men also, their progress being thus facilitated, found more leisure themselves to pursue general science. Thus, by the reciprocal action of influences without and within the profession, its nature

has been ameliorated, and its general character elevated. It is of no importance, as to our present purpose, to say, that these improvements were the consequence of the general advance of the age, and not of the connection of the study of the law with the universities. This connection was either an instrument or a cause. And whether the connection of the science of the law with the universities be considered as an instrument, to which, in its advancing progress, the age resorted for the improvement of that science, or whether it was itself the cause of the advance of the age in the direction which led to those improvements,—on either hypothesis, the object of the present argument is attained; either as a cause, or as a selected instrument, the connection of the study of the law with the universities, has had an efficient agency in those great improvements in the science, which have been introduced in our day. From the hour when the great magician, Blackstone, standing in the halls of Oxford, stretched his scientific wand over the ‘illimitable ocean, without bound,’ where, to the uninstructed eye, ‘cold, hot, moist, and dry, in their pregnant causes mixed, seemed to strive for the mastery,’ confusion disappeared. In its stead was seen a well-proportioned, well-cemented fabric, pleasing to the sight, satisfactory to the taste, approved by the judgment, its architectural principles just, its parts orderly and harmonious, in which justice was found consorting with reason, and controversy guided by the spirit of truth, and not by the spirit of victory.”—pp. 6—15.

In the United States, that portion of the common law which regards the feudal usages of former times, has, of course, been abolished. Those rules which govern the monarchical constitution of the British empire, the rights of primogeniture, the establishment, and throne, have each been excluded from American jurisprudence. As a nation, we have abolished all those corruptions which have grown out of dark ages, and have adopted all those advantages which appertain to republican institutions. The body of men which constitute the legal profession in this country, are pressed down by no constitutional incumbrances, and are therefore enabled to pursue the science with a vigor and success which is the offspring alone of republican enterprize. Hence a change has been wrought out in American law, which in Europe has been the growth of ages.

Here also there is a novel and interesting branch of jurisprudence, which embodies in its service a large amount of professional talent and learning—the constitutional law of the United States. As a written code, the federal constitu-

tion is invested with as much of dignity and importance in its principles as the law of any nation or age. It is the grand organ of political freedom, and republican justice. A frame of polity established by the sages of our nation, its judicature is comprised of those men, who are most distinguished for their judicial talents. Justice here sits enthroned, not amid the gorgeous trappings of monarchical grandeur, but in the untrammelled dignity of conscious freedom. The reports proceeding from this court, comprising the decisions of Marshall and Story, are models of judicial composition and elegant learning, and as long as we have such men upon the bench, will be excelled, probably, by no productions of the kind in modern times.

We have thus endeavored, in this article, to show that the legal system, as it is at present organized, is the only safe depository of human justice, and that no system could be substituted in its stead, which could produce the same beneficial consequences to mankind. We have endeavored to show, that the prejudices which have grown up against it, have been based upon its few disadvantages, arising from that imperfection which must of necessity exist in every human system, and also the acts of some of its unworthy members; and that consequently they have no solid foundation. The legal system is the embodied wisdom of ages. It is founded upon uniform decisions, which have been made by learned men, ever since the establishment of civil government. It is the only ark of constitutional liberty, human happiness, and individual rights. By the agency of the law, every where justly administered, the world may eventually exhibit that condition of social order, portrayed by Sir William Jones, in his splendid vision of a perfect state.

“And sovereign law the world’s collected will,  
O’er thrones and globes elate,  
Sits empress! crowning good, repressing ill.  
Smit by her sacred frown,  
The fiend *Discretion* like a vapor sinks,  
And e’en the all-dazzling crown,  
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.”

The only mode of judging rightly of any political establishment, is, by its consequences. If such establishment is beneficial, the consequences springing from it, must, of course, be advantageous to mankind. If it is evil, such also

will be its consequences. Now if we look abroad, we find that the security of human rights, and the measure of social order, is in exact proportion to the certainty, energy and justice with which the municipal law has been administered. The cause of this is clear, from the fact that this law is founded upon the degeneracy of mankind. If men were righteous in their character, the necessity of the legal establishment would of course be superseded, because without it, their conduct would be governed by righteous principles, to enforce which, is the single design of this establishment. Its only object is to compel mankind to do what they would not otherwise perform by holding out compulsory motives.

Any man will be convinced of the advantages which we have enumerated, by contrasting the condition of civilized states with that of barbarous nations. Among these nations there is no certain law, and by consequence, no security for life, liberty or property. Individuals, debarred from that protection, which, in all well organized communities, is afforded to the meanest of its citizens, are compelled to take their own rights into their own hands. Here society exists in its unorganized elements. Each man is an armed ruffian in his own defence. There is no law but the law of the strongest. The municipal code, however, stretches out a mighty bulwark, for the defence of human rights, to break the storms, and hurl back the billows of passion, crime, and fraud, which are forever thundering at its base. Overthrow this barrier, and they would roll in upon mankind like a flood.

Upon the whole, then, it is clear that the law-system, as it is at present organized and administered, is essential to the order of human society; and that without it, there would be no such thing as the administration of civil justice, or the enjoyment of human right.\* It is equally manifest, that this system is founded upon doctrines of common sense, as well as humanity; that it acts by certain and uniform rules, which are admirably calculated to discover truth; and that it is the only institution which has been framed large enough to reach the ordinary questions of human controversy. The facts which we have mentioned, all combine to show that it is a mighty and glorious fabric, majestic and venerable from its magnitude and its age, whose foundations were laid broad and deep, in principles of everlasting justice, by the master-minds of former times, associated together in high companionship, and that it must endure as long as human freedom,

and human happiness. Ought this fabric to be demolished, in order to give place to temporary passions and fluctuating jealousies—to a discretionary power, acting upon no defined rules, and for no certain objects, because it may contain a few useless vaults, or cumbrous columns, while it is at the same time a safe refuge to thousands of the oppressed? This cannot be accomplished, while common reason and common justice are the governing principles of mankind. We cannot better close our subject, than by quoting Hooker's sublime personification of the law, which terminates the first book of his Ecclesiastical Politie.

"Of law, there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempt from her power; both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all, with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."

### ARTICLE VIII.

*Poems and Prose Writings. By Richard H. Dana.*  
Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Co. 1833. pp. 450.

<sup>1</sup> *The Emperor.* What schools for poets are there in Europe?  
<sup>2</sup> *Æmus.* We have beautiful heavens and a beautiful earth there, Sire, and a holy religion.\*

THAT Mr. Dana is a favored pupil of the "beautiful earth," is evident from a single stanza on his first page:

"But when the light winds lie at rest,  
And on the glassy, heaving sea,  
The black duck, with her glossy breast,  
Sits swinging silently;  
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,  
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach."

\* See Claudius, Werke, B. II. Nachricht von meiner audienz bey'm Kaiser von Japan.

A finer gem in its kind, whether contemplated as a whole or anatomized to the minutest particle, is not to be found. "The Pleasure Boat," p. 115, abounds in similar lovely pictures, sketched with the like naked truth.

"The ripples lightly tap the boat,"

is the language of one who uses his own eye and ear, and who understands and loves nature too well to do her the wrong of obtruding between her and the reader proofs of his own fancied cleverness in the accumulation of fine words. But to copy a few stanzas,—for this power of Mr. Dana's deserves to be studied :

"Come, hoist the sail, the fast let go!  
They 're seated side by side;  
Wave chases wave in pleasant flow:  
The bay is fair and wide.

The ripples lightly tap the boat.  
Loose!—Give her to the wind!  
She shoots ahead:—They 're all afloat:  
The strand is far behind.

\* \* \* \*

Fair ladies, fairer than the spray  
The prow is dashing wide,  
Soft breezes take you on your way,  
Soft flow the blessed tide!

\* \* \* \*

*The boat goes tilting on the waves;*  
*The waves go tilting by;*  
There dips the duck;—her back she laves;  
O'er head the sea-gulls fly.

\* \* \* \*

Why dies the breeze away so soon?  
Why hangs the pennant down?  
The sea is glass; the sun at noon.—  
—Nay, lady, do not frown;

For, see, the winged fisher's plume  
Is painted on the sea:  
Below, a cheek of lovely bloom.  
—Whose eyes look up at thee?

She smiles ; thou need'st must smile on her.  
And, see, beside her face  
A rich, white cloud that doth not stir.—  
What beauty, and what grace !

*And pictured beach of yellow sand,  
And peaked rock and hill,  
Change the smooth sea to fairy land.—  
How lovely and how still !*

*From that far isle the thresher's flail  
Strikes close upon the ear ;  
The leaping fish, the swinging sail  
Of yonder sloop sound near.*

The parting sun sends out a glow  
Across the placid bay,  
Touching with glory all the show.—  
—A breeze !—Up helm !—Away !

*Careening to the wind, they reach,  
With laugh and call, the shore.  
They've left their foot-prints on the beach ;  
But them I hear no more."*

The best lines and stanzas throughout, are those in which the language is most simple and direct—in which there are no harsh inversions or other common devices of metrical arrangement, and no so-called poetic words or phrases. Examine, for instance, the lines in italics. Their excellence consists simply in truth—truth to nature, both in conception and in language. But it is truth to nature as opposed not only to every thing unnatural and factitious in matter or form, but to that unobservant and unthinking familiarity with the objects around us, and that use of current words and phrases without any sense of their import, which are as a crust over most men, so that their eyes see not, their ears hear not, and their hearts neither feel nor understand. It is a truth to nature, resulting from the poet's own free communion with her. The phraseology is what we understand Wordsworth to mean by the "real language of men," as distinguished from "that which is frequently substituted for it by poets, who think they are conferring honor upon themselves and their art, in proportion as they indulge in arbitrary and capricious habits of expression." The con-



ceptions illustrate beautifully Cicero's remark about the educated eye of the painter—a remark that is no less true of the poet. He, too, is attracted on every side by objects of contemplation and attachment that the many know nothing of. In this consists, in part, his power. It also indicates his duty. Man lives in the midst of scenes and occurrences fitted and intended to exert a constant and powerful influence upon him. It is the poet's duty to awaken him to the perception and enjoyment of them, and bring him under their salutary control. What surrounds us every day,

*The common earth, the air, the skies,*

familiar sounds, and ordinary occurrences, which had before excited no feeling, and taught no lesson, he calls up into the active and beneficent influences that God designed them for. The legitimate purpose of poetic power, is not answered therefore by directing attention to the rare and the wonderful, either in nature or in life, and thus employing the fancy and interesting the feelings in marvels. To act as an antagonist force to that ignorant inadvertency, that inveterate worldliness, that slavery to time, and sense, and custom, which so generally result from the employments and intercourse of society, poetry must be an influence that shall attend man in his daily walks; it must awaken voices that shall call to him from rock and tree, streamlet and ocean wave; and give a lesson for him, to meadow and upland, forest and leaf and flower; and especially must it speak through human passions, affections, sympathies and relations, *as such*, and not merely by exhibitions of them in extraordinary circumstances and modifications.

"These given, what more need I desire,  
To stir—to soothe—or elevate?  
What nobler marvels than the mind  
May in life's daily prospect find,  
May find or there create?"

But for this, something more is necessary than the poetic eye and the power to communicate its observations in such a way as to bring them home to the conceptions and sympathies of others,—both so beautifully exemplified in the above extracts. Not only must the eye and ear be opened, and the heart warmed into feeling; not only must we be led to observe and delight in nature, but to listen to her as a

teacher, and yield ourselves to her influence as an educator. The "many pleasant voices" with which she calls to us, have meanings; and the poet is by right and duty her interpreter. But *how* her interpreter?

The efforts of mind in both directions of its highest development—in science and in creative art—tend to intellectualize nature, to find God in his works. Science seeks for those laws, those constitutive ideas of the divine mind, of which phenomena are the diagrams. The material universe, for instance, is constructed mathematically. The plant receives its nourishment, the river flows, the lightning darts, the crystal is formed, the mote moves in the sunbeam, and worlds act on worlds, according to mathematical principles. It is the aim of science to apprehend these principles, and to assign to phenomena their appropriate place in accordance with them. It would discover and follow, as it were, the track of creative power in the construction of the created object. It would look through matter to mind in what we call the laws of matter. The object and process of art are different. The poet looks for the expression of nature's countenance—not for the order of the curves, the degrees and relations of the angles, or the reflections and refractions that may exist there. The mother's smile was not given to teach the child what pair of muscles to use on this or that occasion. 'Spalatro's Vision of the Bloody Hand' was not painted for the purpose of illustrating the principles of perspective, or the doctrine of colors. No more has God constructed this glorious moving panorama of nature and of life, merely as a diagram for the demonstrations of science, or to subserve the purposes of our mere animal existence. If, as the eternal Geometrician, he has most exactly drawn the lines and calculated the powers introduced into the work of his hands, he has also filled heaven and earth with endless combinations of form, color, and movement, expressive of his conceptions as the supreme Artist. It is in this view that the poet is the interpreter of nature. He sees in phenomena the meaning of the Eternal Spirit, as he sees in the work of a brother artist what it was intended to express. Mr. Dana's volume abounds with admirable illustrations of this. The following is from "The Changes of Home :"—

"Such was the Vale. And then within it played  
Edward, a child, and Jane, a little maid.

I see them now no more, where once they stood  
 Beside the brook, or 'neath the sloping wood.  
 The brook flows lonely on; o'er mimic mound  
 No longer made to leap with fairy bound.  
 Then, as they built the little dam and mill,  
 Their tongues went prattling with the prattling rill,  
 As if the babes and stream were playmates three,  
 With cheerful hearts, and singing merrily.  
 The tiny labor 's o'er; the song is done  
 The children sang; the rill sings on alone.

How like eternity doth nature seem  
 To life of man—that short and fitful dream!  
 I look around me; no where can I trace  
 Lines of decay that mark our human race.  
 These are the murmuring waters, these the flowers  
 I mused o'er in my earlier, better hours.  
 Like sounds and scents of yesterday they come.—  
 Long years have past since this was last my home!  
 And I am weak, and toil-worn is my frame;  
 But all the vale shuts in is still the same:  
 'Tis I alone am changed; they know me not:  
 I feel a stranger, or as one forgot.

The breeze that cooled my warm and youthful brow,  
 Breathes the same freshness on its wrinkles now.  
 The leaves that flung around me sun and shade,  
 While gazing idly on them as they played,  
 Are holding yet their frolick in the air;  
 The motion, joy, and beauty still are there—  
 But not for me!—I look upon the ground:  
 Myriads of happy faces throng me round,  
 Familiar to my eye; yet heart and mind  
 In vain would now the old communion find.  
 Ye were as living, conscious beings, then,  
 With whom I talked—but I have talked with men!  
 With uncheered sorrow, with cold hearts have met;  
 Seen honest minds by hardened craft beset;  
 Seen hope cast down, turn deathly pale its glow;  
 Seen virtue rare, but more of virtue's show.”—pp. 34-35.

The sublimely imaginative address to the ocean in “Fac-  
 titious Life,” is still better :—

“Type of the Infinite! I look away  
 Over thy billows, and I cannot stay  
 My thought upon a resting-place, or make  
 A shore beyond my vision, where they break;

But on my spirit stretches, till it 's pain  
To think ; then rests, and then puts forth again.  
Thou hold'st me by a spell ; and on thy beach  
I feel all soul ; and thoughts unmeasured reach  
Far back beyond all date. And, O ! how old  
Thou art to me. For countless years thou hast rolled.  
Before an ear did hear thee, thou didst mourn,  
Prophet of sorrows, o'er a race unborn ;  
Waiting, thou mighty minister of death,  
Lonely thy work, ere man had drawn his breath.  
At last thou did'st it well ! The dread command  
Came, and thou swept'st to death the breathing land ;  
And then once more, unto the silent heaven  
Thy lone and melancholy voice was given.

And though the land is thronged again, O Sea !  
Strange sadness touches all that goes with thee.  
The small bird's plaining note, the wild, sharp call,  
Share thy own spirit : it is sadness all !  
How dark and stern upon thy waves looks down  
Yonder tall Cliff—he with the iron crown.  
And see ! those sable Pines along the steep,  
Are come to join thy requiem, gloomy Deep !  
Like stoled monks they stand and chant the dirge  
Over the dead, with thy low beating surge."—pp. 78-79.

Sometimes the purpose is answered, with great effect, by a line or two ; as when the Spanish lady, in "The Buccaneer," had plunged into the sea out of the hands of pirates and murderers :—

"The waves have swept away the bubbling tide.  
Bright-crested waves, *how calmly on they ride !*"—p. 11.

In this way poetry gives to nature its legitimate power, as a medium through which God speaks to us, to instruct, and move, and bless ; and the proper end of the power it is able to give to the objects around us is answered only so far as it assists us to recognize in them, with suitable emotions, the omnipresent Spirit. Hence the necessity, even in this department, that the poet should study in the school of 'a holy religion.'

"It is the Soul's prerogative, its fate,  
To shape the outward to its own estate.

If right itself, then, all around is well ;  
If wrong, it makes of all without a hell.  
So multiplies the Soul its joy or pain,  
Gives out itself, itself takes back again.  
Transformed by thee, the world hath but one face.—  
Look there, my Soul ! and thine own features trace !  
And all through time, and down eternity,  
Where'er thou goest, that face shall look on thee."—p. 87.

Poetry should show nature as the mirror of a soul at one with the Author of nature ; and thus act as an influence corrective of the countless forms of human perversity that contrive to find in the same scene, each its own unworthy meaning.

We have chosen our illustrations from external nature, as likely to be more readily understood and appreciated. The same principles are of course applicable to poetry in all its departments. It is always essentially ideal. The most prominent difference is, that when the characters, deeds, passions, manners, sentiments, or destinies of man are his subject, there is, in the true poet of fallen human nature, a contrast, more or less evident, of the ideal and the actual—a deep though often silent and hardly observable under-current of sadness—as if the dove of song, seeking every where her loved ideal in the apparent, could find in all the wide desolation around her Ararat, no place of perfect and satisfied rest for the sole of her foot.

In art, as well as in science, the action of the human mind is analogous to that of the supreme intellect. If in looking at nature it is the business of the artist to observe not the law but the expression, his own works are intended, in like manner, not as illustrations of rules, but as the utterance of ideas ; and this alike whether he express himself through the medium of form, color, motion, musical sound, language, or character. By this last we mean, not the exhibition of character in marble, on canvas, or in language ; but the realization of it in life, in one's own person, or in others by means of his influence over them. Possibly some may think so exalted an employment as the formation of character degraded by this classification. Let such reflect, in the first place, on the one great characteristic of all the departments of art. It is that their models are always ideal. It is ideal excellence that the painter, the sculptor, the poet are always striving to attain ; and that always flits before them, appearing

brighter and more beautiful the further they proceed, and beckoning them onward by a genial and winning light;—never leaving them in the sadness of disappointed hope, because every step is attended with unlooked for fruition, and opens also before them a new vista of glorious achievement. Just so it is with the formation of character—except that, in addition to the attractive ideal, a new and higher element is here introduced, in the command of the conscience to realize that ideal excellence in ourselves, and, to the extent of our influence, in others. The influence of the ideal is by no means superseded, but only enforced by the requisitions of conscience. Besides the attractions that invite us onward, and the encouragements that attend our progress, which are here perfectly analogous to those that command the highest energies of the painter—we are absolutely forbidden to be content with present attainments, whatever they may be, and commanded by the highest and the most near and searching of all authorities, to press towards the mark. However imperfectly and in whatever distorted form or wrong direction this universal impulse may have been developed in individuals or communities, it is a constituent part of our nature and the principle of our advancement. The idea of the millennium—of a time when truth and righteousness shall prevail every where and perfectly, operates on individuals, and on Christendom as a mass, in the same way. It is an idea which, as artists working together with God, they are to strive to realize in themselves and in all men. The whole process of the world's conversion to God is proceeding on this principle in all its departments—on the principle of an ideal model, with a superadded sense of the duty of realizing it.—Take another view of the subject. The artist's taste becomes more elevated and pure as he advances. The more he studies the best models, using them as a means of grasping in his conceptions, and contemplating, ideal excellence, the more clearly he sees the deficiencies of what he has done, and the more difficult it is for him to satisfy the demands of his own judgment. So also it is in the formation of character. The feelings of Job when the Almighty appeared in his majesty and holiness, and of Isaiah on a similar revelation of the divine perfections, were analogous to those of an untaught artist of genial taste, but as yet of very imperfect powers of conception or execution, when for the first time introduced to the works of a master. The difference con-

sists in the higher moral element that we have spoken of,—in the accompanying sense of duty, and, alas! of guilt. In the unpractised artist, there is no demand of the conscience as in the other case; nor is it in his own moral being that the difference between the actual and the possible, the attained and the required, is seen.—Once more. The analogy extends not only to the principle and the process, but to the means of advancement—to the arrangements made by the Creator to aid their progress. To promote the lower departments of art, there is implanted an irrepressible admiration and love of excellence, always impelling onward in the path of the ideal; and we are surrounded with objects fitted to call forth and cultivate taste, and encourage and assist the efforts of those who would realize its demands. In aid of the formation of character, in addition to these, we have the ever present command within us; a code of the art, prepared by the hand of God, in the Holy Scriptures; illustrations of that code in the imperfect examples of holy men; and finally, the ideal itself, in living and absolute perfection, in the person of the Incarnate Word.—These considerations seem to prove that the formation of character is not only a department of art, but that for which all the other departments exist, and to which they must in their legitimate exercise, always be subservient. Except in the moral element which elevates this so inconceivably above the others, the analogy is complete. And if the reader pleases to pursue the subject still further, and inquire how the elect among men, who have given character to ages and nations, and though long since in the full fruition of the excellence that they here aspired after, are extending their influence in a deeper and broader channel through all time; if he will inquire how they proceeded, what light guided them, what impulse urged them on, and what powers were called into action for the formation and accomplishment of their plans, he will learn perhaps to honor prophets and apostles, and Christian philanthropists, and reformers, and patriots, with yet one ‘new name.’

If then this strict analogy runs through all the departments of art, and we are able to trace it, in the Eternal Word, to the very bosom of the Father, we see the extent of propriety and meaning that belongs to the concluding words of the extract from Claudius with which we set out. The poet who would fulfil the purposes of the poetic character, or

even write in accordance with its fundamental laws, must study in the school, and imbibe the spirit of 'a holy religion.' His, and what are generally spoken of as the only kindred arts, are but prelusive and auxiliary. The powers and principles concerned in them, reach their highest exercise and development only in morals and religion. The laws of the æsthetic universe must, wherever they touch, be coincident with the laws of duty, the requirements of conscience, the commands of God. The one great purpose for which they and the powers which they distinctively employ and address, were given, and for which they have been developed from age to age, and to which, if rigidly applied, they would make even the lowest departments of art entirely subservient, is, the realization among men of the Christian idea of the millennium; when there shall be just so many souls entirely conformed to the image of Christ, as there are human beings. We contend then that it is not going one step out of the sphere of literary criticism, to inquire whether a poem or a volume of poems comes to us with the brightness of heavenly truth and the fragrance of millennial purity. That work must be condemned as violating the first and highest principles of good taste, which is not at one with the moral ends of our being. To pronounce otherwise, would be to assent to a divarication of our inmost being no less contrary to the dictates of philosophy, than abhorrent to the feelings of goodness.

Mr. Dana has nothing to fear generally from the application of this test. His volume is not one of what would be called religious poetry. But one feels all along, as he reads it, that he is in company with the spirit of a single-hearted and meditative Christian. Whether he sings to us of nature or of human life, there is ever the same evidence of deep and habitual thoughtfulness, the same gentle but fixed devotion to truth and purity. No volume of American poetry deserves so well to be studied; none is calculated to do so much good, especially to the young and meditative. Mr. Dana will have enthusiastic admirers among those whose hearts are not moved by trifles; that is, those who really have hearts; and he deserves them. His works are of a kind to have that told of them which he relates of another:

"I shall never forget with what feeling my friend Bryant some years ago described to me the effect produced upon him by his



meeting for the first time with Wordsworth's Ballads. He lived, when quite young, where but few works of poetry were to be had, at a period, too, when Pope was still the great idol in the temple of *Art*. He said, that upon opening Wordsworth, a thousand springs seemed to gush up at once in his heart, and the face of nature, of a sudden, to change into a strange freshness and life. He had felt the sympathetic touch from an acceding mind, and you see how instantly his powers and affections shot over the earth and through his kind."—p. 148.

The influence of such a writer is needed among us. It is not the metrical novel, characteristic of the times when poetry was last in vogue among the frequenters of circulating libraries, that we want; or any thing in that spirit—a spirit in perfect accordance with the tendency of the age—downward, and away from all manly thought and meditative feeling. It is the duty of poetry, at this time, to furnish something else than variations to the tune of '*the utilities*,' which the whole world is engaged in thrumming; meaning by utility just that which must perish in the using. And Mr. Dana's poetry is something else. He writes in a different strain and in another spirit. In some remarks prefatory to the prose part of the volume before us—a reprint of the *Idle Man*, which we cannot now notice particularly—he says with great justice :

"Too many of the young of this time, do need awakening; for this is hardly the age of profound philosophy, of lofty imagination, or of deep and simple sentiment. But although the age is generally wanting in these respects, there are a few minds of a noble order rising up, not only abroad, but even in this land; and as they ascend, I can see their intellectual rays, while I watch them at a humble distance, stretching out more and more; and ere long they will touch the one the other, and make one common light, that shall flood all lands. A more spiritual philosophy than man ever before looked on, and a poetry *twin* with it, are fast coming into full life. Yes, a day of far-spreading splendor is breaking; the clear streak of it is already in the east, and the earth, even now, here and there touched by it, and yonder, 'the dawning hills!'

"Why, my young friends, I well remember the time when Wordsworth—the great Wordsworth—served for little else than travesty to the witling, smartness to the reviewer, and for a sneer to the fastidious pretender to taste; and when, too, the philosophy of Coleridge was held as little better than a dream. But now, he who cannot relish Wordsworth, is advised to betake

himself to the *Annuals*; and the man who is unable to enter into the deep things of Coleridge, though he may pass for an alert dialectician, must no longer think of dictating from the philosopher's chair: To profess to differ from Coleridge may be safe, but to profess to hold him to be incomprehensible, would now savor less of a profession than a confession, to be kept for the ear of some ghostly father alone."—pp. 148-149.

This view of the progress already made is by no means more cheering than the facts warrant. Every where there are rising up men who welcome into a genial soil the seeds of "a more spiritual philosophy, and a poetry *twin* with it," which Mr. Dana and a few others have scattered for years with such patient waiting.

The greater part of these poems have been published before; but the number of readers to whom they will be like the voice of a friend, has increased beyond all hope, since they have been in market. The additions, too, are by no means unimportant. There are passages in "*Factitious Life*," the longest of the new poems, which are equal to any thing that Mr. Dana has written. The following extracts furnish together a good illustration of the spirit and tendency of the whole volume:

"With etiquette for virtue, heart subdued,  
The right betraying, lest you should be rude,  
Excusing wrong, lest you be thought precise,  
In morals easy, and in manners nice;  
To keep in with the world your only end,  
And with the world, to censure or defend,  
To bend to it each passion, thought, desire,  
With it genteelly cold, or all on fire,  
What have you left to call your own, I pray?  
You ask, What says the world, and that obey:  
Where singularity alone is sin,  
Live uncondemned, and prostrate all within.  
You educate the manners, not the heart;  
And morals make good breeding and an art.  
Though coarse within, yet polished high without,  
And held by all *respectable*, no doubt,  
You think, concealed beneath these flimsy lies,  
To keep through life the set proprieties.

Ah, fool, let but a passion rise in war,  
Your mighty doors of Gaza, posts and bar,  
'Twill wrench away. The Delilah of old—  
Your harlot virtue—thought with withes to hold

Her strong one captive. The Philistines came ;  
 He snapped the bands as tow, and freed his frame,  
 And forth he went. And think you, then, to bind  
 With cords like these the Samsons of the mind,  
 When tempters from abroad beset them ? Nay !  
 They'll out, and tread like common dust your sway.

You strive in vain against the eternal plan.  
 Set free the sympathies, and be a man.  
 And let the tear bedew thine honest eye,  
 When good ones suffer, and when loved ones die.  
 Deem not thy fellow as a creature made  
 To serve thy turn in pleasure or in trade,  
 And then thrown by. It breaks thy moral power  
 To wrap the eternal up in one short hour,  
 And ask what best will serve to help you on,  
 Or furnish comforts till your life is done."—pp. 74-75.

" Earth yields to healthful labor meat and drink,  
 That man may live—for what ? To feel and think ;  
 And not to eat and drink, and like the beast,  
 Sleep, and then wake and get him to his feast.  
 Over these grosser uses nature throws  
 Beauties so delicate, the man foregoes  
 Awhile his low intents, to soft delights  
 Yields up himself ; and lost in sounds and sights,  
 Forgets that earth was made for aught beside  
 His doting ; and he woos it as his bride.  
 —Beautiful bride ! thou chaste one, innocent !  
 To win and make man like thee, thou wast lent.  
 Call with thy many pleasant voices, then ;  
 The wanderer will turn to thee again.  
 Yes, now he turns ! And see ! the breaking day !  
 And in its dawn, the wanderer on his way !

Thou who art Life and Light, I see thee spread  
 Thy glories through these regions of the dead ;  
 I hear Thee call the sleeper :—Up ! Behold  
 The earth unveiled to thee, the heavens unrolled !  
 On thy transformed soul celestial light  
 Bursts ; and the earth, transfigured, on thy sight  
 Breaks, a new sphere ! Ay, stand in glad amaze,  
 While all its figures, opening on thy gaze,  
 Unfold new meanings. Thou shalt understand  
 Its mystic hierograph, thy God's own hand.

Ah ! man shall read aright when he shall part  
 With human schemes, and in the new-born heart

Feel coursing new-born life ; when from above  
 Shall flow throughout his soul joy, light and love ;  
 And he shall follow up these streams, and find  
 The One the source of nature, grace and mind.  
 There, he in God and God in him, his soul  
 Shall look abroad and *feel* the world a *whole*—  
 ‘ From nature up to nature’s God,’ no more  
 Grope out his way through parts, nor place before  
 The Former, the thing formed.—Man yet shall learn  
 The outward by the inward to discern—  
 The inward by the Spirit.”—pp. 79-81.

Perhaps we ought, in the exercise of our prerogative, to look about for something to find fault with ; which indeed we could easily do in the abruptness, obscurity, and want of ease and finish that are too frequent in many of the poems. But to do that to any good purpose, would require more than the last page of an article ; and we therefore take our leave of Mr. Dana, for the present. We do it in the hope that we may soon meet him again in a path which he has every year abundant reason to tread with stronger confidence and higher hope, both for himself and for the literature of his country.

## ARTICLE IX.

### CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Nubia and Abyssinia ; comprehending their civil history, antiquities, arts, religion, literature, and natural history.* By the Rev. Michael Russell, I.L. D. author of *Palestine, &c.* New York : J. & J. Harper. 1833. pp. 331.

WE are surprised that the intelligent author of this volume makes no use of the information which the individuals connected with the Church Missionary Society have lately communicated, respecting Abyssinia. The preface was written in March, 1833, yet Mr. Russell speaks of Sebegadis, the prince of Tigré, as alive, and preparing for a march to Gondar ; to establish his

power} in that quarter of the country; whereas Sebegadis was taken prisoner, in a battle with the Galla, soldiers of the interior, on the 14th of February, 1831, and was killed on the following day. This event took place more than two years before Mr. Russell completed his volume. A number of interesting occurrences transpired immediately after the death of Sebegadis. His servant, Aligas Faris, avenged the death of the king, and obtained possession of the interior. The prospect is, that Wolda Michael, a son of Sebegadis, will obtain quiet possession of Tigré, a province which lies near the Red sea, and further from the risk of invasion from the interior. Michael, like his father, seems to be a sincere friend of the missionaries, as well as almost a single example in the country for adherence to his word. By a letter of November 7, 1832, it appears that Mr. Gobat, the missionary, had twenty scholars, who were travelling about the country, instructing the people.

Mr. Russell finds reason to conclude that Egypt received her civilization from Ethiopia, or the countries which are situated at the sources of the Nile. The vast works at Carnac, Luxor, and Medinet Abou, in Egypt, are much less ancient than the buildings which have been discovered above the cataracts. From Meroë and Axum, downwards to the Mediterranean, there arose, as is testified by Diodorus, improved and powerful states, which, though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same writing, and the same religion.

Mr. Russell thinks that the *Travels of Bruce* are entitled to credit, and that his principal statements have been amply corroborated by succeeding travellers. The fact related by Bruce, and denied by Salt, that the Abyssinians are in the habit of cutting flesh from living animals, and eating it raw, has been frequently witnessed by subsequent travellers, particularly by Coffin and Pearce. It was upon the recital of this fact, that Bruce's reputation was, for a time, lost. Because he would neither suppress nor modify the description, he was denounced as a dreamer of dreams. Mr. Salt's charges against Bruce are regarded by Dr. Russell as unsupported. Bruce colored his narrations too highly, and for that reason, some deductions are to be made from his statements. But great credit is due to him for the mass of information which he supplied concerning Abyssinia. It is now supposed that he did not discover the real source of the eastern or Abyssinian branch of the Nile, but that that river rises much further south than any point visited by Bruce. This branch enters the Bahr el Abiad, or White river, nearly at right angles; but such is the mass of the latter, that the former cannot mingle its waters with it for many miles below their junction; and as the one is light colored and the other dark, the eastern part of the united river is black and the western side white for more than a league after their meeting.

- 2.—*Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia, and their domestic superstitions, translated from the original Persian manuscript. By James Atkinson, Esq. of the East India Company's Bengal medical service.* London. 1832. pp. 93.

THIS is a specimen of Persian humor, founded upon female customs and superstitions. It pretends to be a grave work, and is in fact a circle of domestic observances, treated with the solemnity of a code of laws, by five matron law-givers, assisted by two others. The customs of an eastern country, puerile as they may be thought, show the actual state of Persian life behind the curtain. "It must be confessed," says Mr. Atkinson, "that little is understood in England of the real situation of women in the East, beyond the impression of their being every where absolute slaves to their tyrant-husbands, and cooped up in a harem, which to them it is supposed, can be nothing better than a prison! Like some enthusiasts, who fancy England the only land of liberty and happiness, because other countries do not act and feel in the same way, we think the women in Persia or India oppressed and degraded, because they do not possess and exercise exactly the same rights and privileges as our own. But they are wrong. For what is the fact? 'Many persons in England,' observes a native Persian on this subject, 'believe that Mohammed has declared women have no souls! If you read the Korán,' he adds, 'you will find that our prophet not only ranks women with men as true believers, but particularly ordains that they shall be well treated and respected by their husbands; he has, indeed, secured that, by establishing their right to dowers, as well as claims of inheritance.'"

The book is on the whole an amusing specimen of Persian female gossip, and probably gives us a more correct idea of domestic manners, than the elaborate descriptions of the tourist and historian. It does not afford us, however, any new conceptions of the dignity or virtue of Persian females. Their life is the consummation of the trivial and fantastic, while the allowed deviations from a course of moral purity are not few.

- 3.—*President Dwight's decisions of questions discussed by the senior class in Yale College, in 1813 and 1814. From stenographic notes, by Theodore Dwight, Jr.* Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1833. pp. 348.

THIS volume derives its value from the interesting facts with which Dr. Dwight illustrated his arguments. His extensive personal acquaintance and correspondence, with his strong powers of memory, enabled him to cast powerful and diversified lights on the various topics which came up before his classes. A part of

the questions are incapable of decision, or even of discussion. They are regularly brought forward, we believe, by the successive classes in our colleges, but they ought forthwith to be relinquished. What reasonable man would contend on such interrogatives as these? Has Christianity been a temporal benefit? Is a savage state preferable to a civilized? Are wars beneficial? Has the discovery of America been beneficial? Do spectres appear? Some of the remarks of Dr. Dwight on duelling, the profession of law, the perfectability of the human race, the study of the ancient languages, and a few others, strike us as very weighty. There is sometimes an air of dogmatism or downright assertion, which is unpleasant. It perhaps results from the necessarily concise manner in which his sentiments are reported. On the whole, the reader will derive considerable amusement, as well as valuable information from the volume.

4.—*Poems by the Honorable Mrs. Norton*. Boston: 1833. pp. 148.

THE tenor of Mrs. Norton's verses may be gathered from the following subjects: escapes from the snares of love, the bride, I was not false to thee, when poor in all but hope and love, recollections of a faded beauty, would I were with thee, the one you loved the best, marriage and love, &c., subjects which are unfathomable to us. We tried to wade through the volume, but soon became disheartened, meeting with such obstacles as this,

"But oh! what will they say of you—  
What *can* they say of me,  
Should I at length become your bride,  
As I have vowed to be?"

We have seen some interesting verses from the pen of Mrs. Norton, but this volume does not contain them. Mrs. Norton is editor of the *London Court Journal*, a mirror of fashion and folly.

5.—*Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land; comprising a description of that colony during a six months' residence, from original letters selected by Mrs. Augustus Prinsep*. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1833. pp. 117.

THIS book is written in a *dashing*, and rather facetious style. The securing of personal comforts for the tourist himself, engrosses an inordinate share of attention. He complains, however, in a lively, and sometimes, in a half earnest manner, as though he did not wish for the sympathy of the reader. He states some interesting facts respecting Van Diemen's Land, with

which country he was highly gratified. The population in 1819, was 5,000, in 1830, 24,000, of whom 12,000 were convicts. The society of Hobarton, the principal place, is represented as very pleasant, though it was founded on the dregs which were imported from England. Their mother language will soon undergo a change. "The next generation will certainly expel the *h* from its place in the dictionary, and admit it as an aspirate to the *h*'apples and *h*'oranges." A meteorological journal which was kept during one hundred and thirty days, from October 16th to February 23d, gives the following results: rainy days 42, strong wind 24, fine and pleasant 28, very fine 29, wind too hot 7. Hottest day, 25th January, thermometer  $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in the shade. Coldest day, 16th October, thermometer  $56^{\circ}$ . Hobarton stands on the only excellent harbor, and is advancing very rapidly. There are spots of land within the town worth £2,000 per acre. Land, which in 1824, was sold for £4 per acre, was worth £40 in 1830. Great attention is now paid every where to the education of children.

6.—*Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity, by Joseph John Gurney; to which is prefixed an introductory essay, by F. Wayland, president of Brown University. Boston: James Loring. 1833. pp. 220.*

"IN the course of a social evening's conversation," says Mr. Gurney, "I heard that eminent Christian philosopher, Dr. Chalmers, make some instructive remarks to the following effect. 'The historical evidences of Christianity are abundantly sufficient to satisfy the scrutiny of the learned, and they are within the reach of all well educated persons. But the internal evidences of the truth have a still wider influence, for they are open and intelligible to every sincere inquirer. Every man who reads the Bible with attention, and observes the value and excellence of the book, every man who compares what it says of mankind with his own experience, and marks the fitness of its mighty scheme of doctrine to his own spiritual need as a sinner in the sight of God, is furnished with practical proof of the divine origin of our religion. I love this evidence; I call it the *PORTABLE* evidence of Christianity.' My object," continues Mr. Gurney, "is to develop these views; and I trust no apology is required for my adopting the term by which Dr. Chalmers so happily distinguished his favorite kind of evidence. The Bible is a portable book, and the Christian, whether at home or on a journey, ought always to keep it within his reach, and make use of it as his daily companion."

It is president Wayland's object, in the introductory essay of twenty-four pages, familiarly to illustrate the plan of the author, and to offer a few suggestions respecting the manner in which such a book ought to be read. Studies of this nature require *thought*. The study of the evidences of revelation requires the exercise of memory, abstraction, generalization, and of that power of the mind by which we decide at every step, whether 'the thing proposed to be made out be really made out or not.'



This study not only requires thought, but it requires that we should know what we are thinking about. The questions at issue are, When is any fact proved? and, Are the facts in the Bible proved? After reading a portion, time ought to be taken for reflection until the truth makes some impression on the mind, and awakens some sensibility in the conscience.

The volume is divided into two parts. 1st. *The Bible considered alone*, embracing the following topics: excellence of Scripture and accordance of its parts; prophecy compared with history; the Supreme Being; the moral law; example of Christ; general account of the Saviour; the Father, Son, and Spirit, one God. 2d. *The Bible compared with experience*, comprising remarks on a future life, moral government of God, sinful and enslaved condition of man, repentance and mediation, and fitness of the scheme of redemption.

We think the volume to be worthy of the commendation which president Wayland bestows upon it. The style is clear, and wholly free from theological technicalities. The thoughts are of great importance, and when suggested by bishop Butler and others, have been well considered by Mr. Gurney, and have acquired additional value as emanating from a mind so thoughtful, and a heart so Christian, as the author shows himself to possess.

7.—*Missionary Sermons and Addresses. By Eli Smith, missionary to Syria.* Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 1833. pp. 229.

THE sermons in this volume are on the following subjects: moral and religious condition of western Asia; duty of Christians to live for the conversion of the world; farewell request in behalf of the Syrian mission. The addresses are on the trials of missionaries, and on the present attitude of Mohammedanism in reference to the spread of the gospel. The last was originally published in the *Quarterly Observer*. Mr. Smith has been stationed for some time at Malta, though he has travelled extensively in Greece and its islands, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Georgia, and Persia, about one thousand miles eastward by land from Constantinople. He brings a large share of intelligence and Christian philosophy to his researches, and detects with much discrimination the manners and characters of the motley and curious specimens of human nature which came before him. We have rarely been more edified with an oriental traveller. In countries where truth does not belong to the code of morals, and where gross imposition and cunning fraud are so common, it is a rare qualification in a journalist to reach the real facts, and state them with candor and entire consistency.

- 8.—*Forty years' residence in America; or the doctrine of a particular Providence exemplified in the life of Grant Thorburn, seedsman, New York. Written by himself.* Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Metcalf. 1833. pp. 264.

MR. THORBURN is truly a seedsman of the old school. Though he has a profound antipathy to *book critics*, as he calls them, yet we shall proceed, nothing daunted, to make some remarks upon this singular autobiography. Grant Thorburn was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, February 18, 1773. His father was an honest nail maker, and a Presbyterian. His mother dying in his third year, he was neglected by a cruel nurse, and fell into a sickly state of body. He was afterwards sent to live on the high hills of Mid Lothian, where he soon regained his health and spirits, but not his growth, his height being only four feet ten inches. At no period of his life has he weighed more than ninety-eight pounds. In 1792, when the French revolution commenced, he joined a society, called the Friends of the People, and was soon, with seventeen others, taken prisoner to Edinburgh. On the 13th of April, 1794, he sailed with his brother for New York, both having twenty shillings sterling for contingent expenses. On the 16th of June, they reached New York, with six and a quarter cents in their pockets. On the first morning, after lodging in a dismal garret, Grant arose, feverish and discontented, and for the sake of *passing the time*, opened his case of books. The first thing which caught his eye was a small pocket Bible, placed there by the hands of his good father. His eyes fastened on the words, "My son, forget not my law," &c. He read to the end of the chapter, and found it was the third chapter of Proverbs. Looking on it as an immediate message from heaven, he fell on his knees, "with his face to the east, where lies Scotland," at the hour when his father's family were assembled for worship, and resolved, in God's strength, to take this third chapter of Proverbs as his pocket companion. He has found to the present day, that in keeping of God's commandments, *in this life*, there is great reward. He has seen pestilence and death walking the streets of the city, for twelve different summers, while neither he, nor any of his family have been hurt by day or by night; being in every instance, as he thought, providentially prevented from leaving the city. He was for some years, employed as a nail maker, with various success, and afterwards commenced a grocery concern in which he was unsuccessful. He was then providentially directed to the business of selling seeds and plants, his mind having been turned to the painting of green pots, which induced him to purchase the first plant that ever attracted his attention. Having entered into the design of raising plants for himself, he lost all his property, and was thrown into jail. Still he held on with good

courage, dwelling on the text, "acknowledge him in all thy ways, and he will direct thy steps." He commenced the same business again, under happier auspices. In 1825, he purchased the Friend's meeting-house in Liberty street for a seed shop, paying for the building and ground, \$20,500; at the present time worth \$50,000. It is the largest seed establishment in America, and now in the full tide of success.

The book is highly amusing and instructive, though its grammatical errors are so glaring, that we are not inclined to believe what Mr. Thorburn says, on the sixteenth page, concerning his literary proficiency. He has an uncommon share of good Scotch sense, and utters truths in his homely way, worthy the attention of all housewives and political economists. There is occasionally some language, which is unnecessarily low, and some unsuccessful attempts at wit. On the other hand, there are descriptions not lacking at all in real pathos; such as the following. "At eight o'clock, A. M. on the 8th of August, 1818, I stepped into the same room I had parted from my father, brother, and sister in, on the 3d of April, 1794—a period of twenty-four years. As was his custom, my father was just opening the old Scotch psalm book, to commence family worship before breakfast; the same old family Bible lay on the same old oak table—the same eight-day clock stood in the same corner—the same bedstead and curtains, under which I formerly slept, the same shovel and tongs stood by the same fire-place, in short I was at *home*; had I found my father in a palace I would [should] not have been at home. I could not speak, but sat down and cried for ten minutes with real pleasure."

9.—*Manly Piety, in its principles.* By Robert Philip, of Maberly chapel. New York: J. Wiley. 1833. pp. 238.

MR. PHILIP is a dissenting minister, settled in the suburbs of London, and seems, by the dedication in this volume, to have been a *protégé* of the Rev. Dr. Philip, of South Africa. He has written a series of experimental "Guides," for various classes of adult persons, one of the most valuable of which has been lately republished in Boston. He now appeals to the young, "as one who both knows and remembers the usual pleasures and perils of youth; and who can never forget the *manly* counsel and example which he himself received from the philanthropist to whom this new series of Guides is inscribed." The second volume will be on manly piety in its spirit. The present volume embraces the following topics; manly estimates of both worlds, manly estimates of true wisdom, manly views of salvation, manly faith in Providence, manly honesty in prayer, manly views of divine influence, manly views of religious mystery, manly views of divine holiness.

Mr. Barnes, of Philadelphia, in an introductory note, says that "the book is a fine illustration of the proper manner of treating the subject of religion. It is full of strong, original, impressive thought. The views presented, are elevated, and are free from the affectation of piety, and from the mere technicality of religion; and from every appearance of cant." We see no reason to dissent from these commendations. The sentiments are such as are calculated to strike those young men favorably, who have independence of mind, or fastidiousness of taste. The word *manly*, is, in our opinion, employed too frequently. It may offend against good taste, and convey the impression that the subjects of religion need apology, and explanation, not being in themselves and obviously, adapted to the thoughtful and manly.

10.—*The Old Jersey Captive; or a Narrative of the Captivity of Thomas Andros, pastor of the church in Berkley, Mass., on board the Old Jersey Prison Ship, at New York, 1781.* Boston: William Peirce. 1833. pp. 80.

THE Jersey prison ship was a sixty-four gun ship, which, through age, had become unfit for further actual service. She was stripped of every spar, and of all her rigging. No appearance of ornament was left, and nothing remained but an old, unsightly, rotten hulk. She was moored about three quarters of a mile east of Brooklyn ferry, near a tide-mill, on the Long Island shore. The nearest distance to land was about twenty rods. About *eleven thousand* American seamen perished in her! On the 27th of August, 1781, Mr. Andros was taken prisoner, and with his companions, incarcerated in this floating dungeon, where hundreds of prisoners were crowded together as thickly as they could stand. Twelve hundred men were at one time shut up in this black hole. Dysentery, small pox, and yellow fever, commenced their ravages. Two hundred sick and dying persons, were lodged at one time in one part of the lower gun-deck. "Disease and death were wrought into the very timbers of the ship. The water of the prisoners was good, but the bread was bad in the superlative degree—full of living vermin."

In a state between life and death, Mr. Andros obtained permission to go on shore, with some English sailors, who went for water to a neighboring spring. Pretending to search for some apples, he fled, unseen by his guards, to a dense mass of young maples, half a mile distant. He found an hiding place until night, under a large log, which was also a protection from a north-east storm. Under the cover of the darkness, he crept out, and finding a road, pursued his course unmolested. When about to meet any one, he retired to a small distance, and threw himself down in such a form as to resemble a small tuft of bushes or

fern. In this manner, he wandered from place to place, lodging in barns, or in forests, constantly exposed to be retaken, and suffering extremely from fever, for a number of weeks. In the latter part of October, he reached his home at Plainfield, Conn. His narrative illustrates, in an interesting manner, the particular providence of God, and the energy and self-possession which adversity frequently imparts to man. It is valuable, also, as a revolutionary relic.

11.—*The Life of Friedrich Schiller, comprehending an Examination of his Works. From the London Edition.*  
Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co. 1833. pp. 294.

THIS distinguished German writer, was born Nov. 10, 1759, at Marbach, a town of Würtemberg, and died at Weimar, May 9, 1805, aged 46. His parents were pious, and his early acquaintance with the poetical passages of the Old Testament, contributed to develope his poetical genius. The visions of Ezekiel excited a great interest in him. He loved, at an early period, to repeat the sermon which he had heard at church on Sunday. He would stand on a chair and preach with great zeal, never omitting the divisions which the minister had made in his discourse. He studied successively, theology, medicine, and law. His principal works are tragedies, particularly the Robbers, Conspiracy of Fiesco, Wallenstein, and William Tell. He published Historical Memoirs from the 12th century to the present time, and a history of the thirty years' war in Germany. In 1789, he received a professorship of philosophy at Jena. A very cheap edition of his works was published in 1822, by Cotta, in eighteen small volumes.

Frederick Schlegel thus speaks of Schiller—"In the first enthusiastic writings of his youth, he exhibits all the most striking symptoms of internal conflict, and breathes the full confidence of all those visionary hopes and violent opposition to existing institutions, which were the immediate harbingers of the French revolution. In some of his early works, he expresses a passionate and painful skepticism, an unbelief which is accompanied in his young spirit with so much sublime earnestness and fire of energy, that we contemplate it not with aversion, but with compassion, and with the hope that a soul so fearfully agitated and so panting for the truth, would, in its period of manhood and maturity, attain the repose of faith. What a mighty change do we observe in the subsequent progress of his career! what a dignified struggle with himself, the world, the philosophy of the age, and his own art! Restless in himself, and perpetually tossed about in unquietness, he comprehends and compassionates the universal convulsions of the time."

One of his biographers remarks, "that incessant study, pro-

tracted far into the night, and the use of stimulants, undermined his health." Another says, "On sitting down at his desk at night, he was wont to keep some strong coffee, or wine-chocolate, but more frequently a flask of old Rhenish or Champaign, standing by him, that he might from time to time repair the exhaustion of his nature. In winter he was to be found at his desk till four, or even five o'clock in the morning; in summer till towards three. He then went to bed, from which he seldom rose till towards nine or ten." This practice admits of no apology or excuse. It was a violation of God's law, and a sin against his own reason and common sense, yet a biographer remarks with extraordinary charity, "It was one of those *errors* which increase rather than diminish our respect; originating, as it did, in generous ardor for what was best and grandest, they must be cold censurers that can condemn it harshly. We but lament and honor this excess of zeal; its effects were mournful, but its origin was noble." In a less ethereal spirit, such a course would have been a protracted suicide. Schiller's genius, it seems, can alter the nature of virtue and vice.

This life of Schiller has been selected by the proprietor, Mr. Park Benjamin, as the first volume of a series of works of a high literary character. The plan is to present from time to time to the public a book, similar in size and appearance to the present volume, which shall be either an original work, a translation, or a republication. This life of Schiller is in some respects of a very high order. It was written in England, and is edited by Mr. Follen, the German professor of Harvard. It is a finished specimen of mechanical execution. The paper, engraving, printing, and binding, are all in excellent taste. The biography and remarks on Schiller's writings are discriminating, philosophical, and interesting in a remarkable degree. The English writer is not an Englishman or a German, but a citizen of the world. He has the heart of an universal scholar.

We have only to regret that talents so great as those of Schiller should have been devoted to such an extent to the *theatre*. If he had composed his dramas merely as literary compositions, without preparing them for the stage, we should remain silent. But this was not the fact. He lent all his great powers, as an author, superintendent, and auditor, to an amusement, which is at war with good taste and good morals. We do not find fault with his motives, nor in the least degree disparage his extraordinary endowment as a man, and a genius. But we can never cease to deplore the unfortunate direction in which his powers were employed. Every literary man is bound to make use of his energies in that way which will most fully advance the *future* as well as present interests of mankind. We fear there is more fine writing than truth in the following remarks of the American editor. "Schiller's poetry is distinguished by its *moral* char-

acter. But its morality is not that of the philosopher who insists upon an entire separation of the moral principle from all natural desires; nor that of the theologian who maintains that holiness consists in denying and crucifying the natural affections. It is a morality that flows from the heart freely and bountifully, receiving and merging in its wide and deep channel all natural desires and kind affections. It is the morality of nature, the beauty of holiness, the quickening spirit of love and happiness, which breathes in all his works, and sheds a saintlike glory upon his life and sufferings."

We contend that a man to whose desires and feelings, the scriptural expression, "beauty of holiness" could be applied, would not have dedicated his life, or a greater part of it, to adorn and dignify the stage.

12.—*Memoirs of Baron Cuvier. By Mrs. R. Lee, formerly Mrs. T. E. Bowdich.* New York: J. & J. Harper. 1833. pp. 197.

Mrs. L. thus states her connection with the family of Cuvier. "Struck with the facilities afforded for study in the French capital, Mr. Bowdich, after his return from his second African expedition, determined to remain there for some time. We both accordingly went to Paris in 1819; and from that moment the vast library of the baron Cuvier, his drawings, his collections, were open to our purposes. We became the intimates of the family, with whom, for nearly four years, we were in daily intercourse. We left France with their blessings; and on returning alone to Europe, I was received even as a daughter. My correspondence with M. Cuvier's daughter-in-law, and other branches of the family, has been uninterrupted since that period. I have paid them repeated visits at their own house, and, for fourteen years, not a single shadow has passed over the warm affection which has characterized our intimacy."

Mrs. Lee details the various events in the life of Cuvier, gives an analysis of his principal works, and dwells with great fondness and affection upon his social habits, and domestic character. Her intimate acquaintance with the great philosopher has enabled her to preserve a number of striking and very characteristic anecdotes. Her delineations have all the benefits which can be derived from the most enthusiastic admiration of his character. She treasures his sayings, and details the honors which were paid to him, as though the one were the oracles of truth, and the other such homage as is due to an immortal. It is a panegyric rather than a discriminating view of his character. His political course, equally with his scientific, is the object of earnest eulogy; whereas another biographer makes the following statement. "In general, the political course of Cuvier forms such a

contrast with his scientific one, and is, besides, of so little importance, that we are very willing to pass it by in 'silence.' Still, Mrs. Lee's memoir is of value. She supplies facts and incidents, and makes observations, which would not have occurred to a professed philosopher, or to a biographer of the other sex. Cuvier was truly a great man, the prince of naturalists, along with Bacon and Newton an high priest of nature, cautious, comprehensive, profound, performing a vast amount of labor, and performing it well. Few Frenchmen, or few men are so entitled to the love and confidence of other ages and generations. The service which he has rendered to revelation, by corroborating the Mosaic history, is not small. His belief in a superintending Providence in the midst of an atheistic age and nation is remarkable, though all his religious opinions, as explained by Mrs. Lee, we should be very unwilling to adopt.

He was born at Montbéliard, August 23, 1769, entered the university of Stuttgart in 1784, opened his first course of lectures at the garden of plants, on comparative anatomy, in 1795, made a member of the national institute in 1796, appointed professor at the college of France in 1800, named as one of the six inspector-generals of education in 1802, married to madame Duvaucel in 1803, appointed counsellor to the university in 1808, sent to Rome to organize the university there in 1813, counsellor of state by Napoleon in 1814, grand master of the faculties of Protestant theology in 1822, charged with the government of all the non-catholic religions in 1827, created a peer and appointed president of the council of state, in 1830, died May 13, 1832. The titles of his published works, which Mrs. Lee gives, amount to *two hundred and twenty*. The book would have an increased value, for the mass of readers, if Mrs. Lee had translated the many French terms and paragraphs which occur.

13.—*American Annals of Education and Instruction. Conducted by William C. Woodbridge.* Boston: Allen & Ticknor.

It would be superfluous in us to commend either the object of this publication, or the manner in which that object has been promoted. One of the reasons why it has not received a more liberal patronage is, in our opinion, the want of sufficient variety in its contents. Connected with this is the tedium and monotony attached to the word *education*. However important it is in our vocabulary, and vast as the interests are which are involved in it, it will cease after a time to strike a changing and in many respects thoughtless generation. Sufficient efforts have not been made by its editor, or publishers, or patrons, as the case may be, to obtain support. The competi-



tion between our periodicals is so active that extraordinary exertions must be put forth, to make known the claims of any given one. We hold it to be perfectly decorous and lawful, for a bookseller to extend far and wide, as he has opportunity, a knowledge of the works which issue from his press. Unless he, or some one interested does so, all other men will surely neglect it. No great reliance can be placed upon the intrinsic merit of the object, or the cause which is advocated, in itself alone. Other men are, or imagine that they are, concerned in undertakings which are equally important. The principal cause, however, of the want of an efficient patronage, is the catholic ground which Mr. Woodbridge has taken. He does not rally around him a party or sect. He does not interfere with theological or denominational distinctions. He takes his stand on the Bible, and pleads with great earnestness and eloquence for scriptural education, but keeps aloof from the peculiarities of any religious party. We think he has acted wisely in so doing. Nevertheless, such a course has brought around him many lukewarm friends, while another course would have secured a smaller number of determined and zealous supporters.

We hope the community will look at this matter as they ought, and lend a prompt and efficient co-operation in sustaining and extending the influence of the work. Of the great ability of Mr. W. there can be no doubt. No enlightened man will call in question the soundness of the general principles which guide his course. Of the incalculable importance of an educational journal, like the one under consideration, no one can be skeptical. *Immediate action* in relation to this work, on the part of every friend of education, may confer an eminent service on the whole country.

- 14.—*The American Quarterly Temperance Magazine, published by the Executive Committee of the New York State Temperance Society. Four numbers. Albany. 1833. pp. 96, 196, 96, 56.*

THE principal articles in this periodical, are a history of the rise and progress of American temperance societies, causes which oppose the temperance reform, physical effects of the habitual use of ardent spirits, extent of the temperance reform, manufacture and sale of ardent spirit, early history of temperance societies, the temperance pledge, deficiencies of temperance societies, proceedings of a meeting at Washington, notices of seventeen addresses, report of the New York State Temperance Society, time's doings, claims of foreigners on the people of the United States, cold water, the obligations of Christians to abstain from making or vending ardent spirits, delirium tremens, influence of temperance, appeal to innkeepers, effect of ardent spirits

on the human constitution in health and disease, review of the annual reports of the Maine and Pennsylvania temperance societies, progress of the reformation, Dr. Harden on the physical effects of stimulants, temperance pledge, ultimate success of the effort, temperance in churches, Gerrit Smith on the reformation of thirty-eight intemperate persons, &c. These articles contain a great variety of important statements and of conclusive reasoning. Such a publication was evidently needed as a depository of facts respecting one of the greatest moral revolutions recorded in the history of our race.

- 15.—*Lecture on the Cultivation of Spiritual Habits and Progress in Study; delivered at the opening of the academical year, Nov. 1831. By Ebenezer Porter, D. D. President of the Theological Seminary. Andover: Flagg, Gould & Newman. 1833. pp. 23.*

THIS is a valuable directory for the class of individuals to whom it was addressed, and indeed for all scholars. The advice is sound and well-balanced. The various arguments are stated and illustrated with Dr. Porter's usual discrimination and precision.

- 16.—*The History and Geography of the Valley of the Mississippi; to which is appended a condensed physical geography of the Atlantic United States, and the whole American continent. Third edition, in two volumes. By Timothy Flint. Cincinnati, Ohio: E. H. Flint. 1833. pp. 469, 310.*

THIS work has received the sanction of the literary community for several years. A great amount of valuable information is condensed in a small space, and it is presented in a lively and attractive form. We regret that the author did not take more pains to make his book entirely accurate. The value of a geography or gazetteer depends of course on the strict accordance of its statements to the truth. Mistakes in a third edition are more censurable than in a first or second, and if 1833 is on the title page, the details in the volume should correspond therewith. Volume II. p. 9, "The Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, probably rank in point of numbers in the order in which they are here mentioned." The Baptists are, and have been for several years a more numerous denomination than either of the others here referred to. The number of communicants is 409,658, of Congregationalists about 130,000, of Presbyterians 217,348. p. 18. Augusta is the capital of Maine, not Portland, as there stated. On the next page it is said that a theological seminary is established in Waterville,

and lyceums at Hallowell and Gardiner. No theological seminary was ever established at Waterville. Lyceums exist in many other towns similar to the one in Hallowell. The lyceum in Gardiner here referred to, has been for some time discontinued. p. 27. Massachusetts is said to be bounded on the east by the Atlantic ocean, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. What the southern boundary is, we are left to conjecture. On page 28 is the following respecting the instructors of the common schools in Massachusetts. "Great attention is paid to the character and capability of the instructors, among whom a high and noble spirit of emulation exists, descending in double measure to the pupils." We wish this were true, but our readers in Massachusetts are well aware that it is not. On the same page, the university library at Harvard is stated to contain about 30,000 volumes. It has more than 40,000. On the 29th page we find the following. "William's college and Amherst college in the interior of the State, are both important institutions, called for by the rapid improvement of the western part of the State." Neither of these colleges are in the interior of the State. Williams, not William's, is in the northwestern extremity of the commonwealth. On the 30th page, the Tremont house in Boston, is said to be built of Chelmsford granite, whereas it is built of Quincy granite. On p. 41, the school of the Messrs. Dwigths in New Haven, is said to "have much reputation." The school was discontinued two years since. One of its founders is dead, and the other is president of Hamilton college. A great number of names are misspelled. Such as Lime, Philip's academy, Milbury, Gilmantown, M. Peers, instead of B. O. Peers, William Bryant, instead of William C. Bryant. There is a repetition on almost every page of such epithets as handsome, charming, opulent, &c. The style is far too flippant and lively, for a professed geography. Witness the following. The inhabitants of Vermont "are a determined, adventurous, wandering people, little afflicted with the malady of bashfulness, and are found in all the other States as immigrants." We hope to see a future edition freed from the errors and omissions which impair the value of the present edition.

17.—*The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1834.* Boston: Charles Bowen. pp. 336.

THIS is the fifth volume of this invaluable series. The first part is devoted to the calendar and celestial phenomena for 1834, prepared with great care by Mr. Robert Treat Paine. The second part, among other things, gives a list of the members of the first colonial congress, members of congress from 1774 to 1778, list of the members of the convention that formed the con-

stitution, senators and representatives in congress from 1789 to 1833, a view of education and of literary institutions in all the States, a copious obituary and notices of persons who died in 1832. The most entire confidence can be placed in the accuracy of the statements in this volume. We make this assertion after a close examination. Some changes in various institutions have occurred since the work was compiled, but not sufficient to affect its value. The sixth volume will give a view of the financial institutions of the country, and also of the periodical literature, including newspapers.

- 18.—*The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, by J. G. Herder, translated from the German. By James Marsh, in two volumes. Vol. I. Burlington, Vt.: Edward Smith. 1833. pp. 293.

"THE work of bishop Lowth," remarks the translator in his preface, "is the only one of much distinction, whose influence is felt either in England or in this country, in cultivating in the minds of students a general love for the spirit of Hebrew antiquity. What that is, as compared with the work of Herder, is readily seen, by any one, who is acquainted with both, and capable of appreciating the difference between them. Valuable and indeed indispensable as Lowth's work is to the student of the Bible, from the richness of its thoughts and the nice discrimination exhibited in its learned criticism, it differs essentially from that of Herder in the point of view from which it contemplates the subject of which it treats. It seeks to illustrate and make intelligible the beauties and sublimities of Hebrew poetry, by comparing it, in all its varieties, with the productions of Grecian and Roman art, and has done, perhaps, all that can be desired in following out that mode of critical comparison." "Herder," says Schlegel, "has that energy of fancy by which he is enabled to transport himself into the spirit and poetry of every age and people. It is this very perception and feeling of the poetical, in the character of natural legends, which forms the most distinguishing feature in the genius of Herder. The poetry of the Hebrews, was that which most delighted him. He may be called the mythologist of German literature, on account of this gift, this universal feeling of the spirit of antiquity. His power of entering into all the shapes and manifestations of fancy, implies in himself a very high degree of imagination. His mind seems to have been cast in so universal a mould, that he might have attained to equal eminence, either as a poet or a philosopher."

Our readers will find the perusal of such books as this a "continual feast." It is not with the facts, and definitions, and principles of Hebrew poetry that it is concerned. It penetrates within and catches the living spirit there. The pure light which

it generally throws on the interpretation of the Bible, is not one of its least recommendations. We hope the translator will find the full reward of his labors. It is no easy matter to translate such an author as Herder from such a language as the German. We should have liked the appearance of the pages of the translation somewhat better if the *k* had been banished from such words as 'public.'

- 19.—*The Shade of the Past, for the Celebration of the close of the Second Century since the establishment of the Thursday Lecture.* By N. L. Frothingham, pastor of the first church. Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Metcalf. 1833. pp. 16.

THIS is quite an amusing lecture, which will be more renowned in future time, we presume, for its wit than for its divinity. It is written, so far as the selection of apt and beautiful words is concerned, in fine taste. We copy the most eloquent passage in the discourse.

"We may well pause, after such an instance of deterioration, and unwilling to pursue any further the course of neglect, take refuge in a great public event, which sixty years afterwards shook the whole land, and ended in throwing over our withered Lecture a momentary glory;—as the frost paints the dying leaves of the woods with more magnificent colors than when they flourished the freshest. During the siege of Boston, it was for a few melancholy months suspended; and the deliverance of the town renewed it in the midst of universal acclamations. Individuals may be yet alive who beheld its crowded assembly that day;—a day that was suited to remind men of the foundation of the colony, while celebrating its redemption and freedom,—that saw one great era looking back to another, and battle and victory stretching out their mailed hands to greet all the ancient memories of peril and destitution and 'small' but unconquerable 'things.' The officers of the army of Congress gave their attendance, throwing a military splendor over the house of prayer; and there was Washington himself, that 'Captain of the Lord's host' for a continent and for mankind."

- 20.—*Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, September, 1833.* Boston: Crocker & Brewster. pp. 152.

A WELL prepared and interesting document. It contains a great variety of geographical and other information, which will be valuable to the general reader. We notice a few slight errors—the name of Sir John Malcolm on page 21, is misspelled; page 47, Justin Perkins is twice printed Jonas Perkins. The names of Mr. William C. Sampson and his wife, mentioned on the 52d page are not included in the list on the 31st page. Rev. William Thomson, page 41, is spelled differently on page 31. On page 53, Indo-Britains should be Indo-Britons. Plural and singular

verbs are used in speaking of the Board. "The Board is aware, the Board have," &c. Some objection lies against this phrase, page 23d, "Another indication of the class now *being* presented," &c. *Governmental*, page 59, is stated by Pickering to be an Americanism.

- 21.—*The Infirmities of Genius, illustrated by referring the Anomalies in the literary character to the Habits and Constitutional Peculiarities of men of genius. By R. R. Madden, Esq., author of Travels in Turkey, &c. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard. 1833. pp. 210, 202.*

THESE are very amusing and instructive volumes on the following subjects: The effects of literary habits, advantages of literary pursuits, abuses of literary pursuits, the nervous energy, influence of studious habits, precocious talents, longevity of literary men, the last moments of literary men, and the improvidence of literary men. Very copious illustrations are supplied from the lives of scholars and men of genius of all descriptions. The books will form a very good supplement to the works of D'Israeli. The reader will occasionally observe opinions with which he ought not to coincide. On the 16th page of the first volume, Mr. Madden speaks of the *indiscretions* of the poet Shelley; a man, who was expelled from Oxford, who was an associate of Hunt and Byron, and who, after a divorce from his wife, married a daughter of the renowned Mary Woolstonecraft. There are other opinions advanced in the book which seem to us deserving of reprehension. The author goes into an elaborate argument to show that Cowper's maladies were caused by religious enthusiasm, and he quotes with approbation the sentiment of Hayley, that we ought to pray to be preserved alike from a neglect of religion and from giving too earnest attention to it, one extreme being about as common and as deplorable as the other. Our readers need not be informed how totally such an idea is at variance with reason and with fact. Still, Dr. Madden—we presume he is a physician—brings forward many important truths, and exhibits a considerable share of candor and fairness.

The mistakes in the printing are numerous. Vol. i. pp. 68—73, are the following:—Herchell, Linaeus, Cowle, Spencer, Condorset, Kalmes, Vatel, and Salmatius.

**LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.****United States.**

The new theological seminary in Connecticut, is to be established at East Windsor. Rev. Dr. Tyler, of Portland, is to be president and professor of theology. A considerable amount of funds has been subscribed.—Rev. John Wheeler has been inaugurated president of the university of Vermont, and Rev. Rufus Babcock, jr. former pastor of a Baptist church in Salem, Mass. president of Waterville college, Maine.—We were mistaken in our last number, in stating that the Rev. George Bush had been appointed professor of theology in Dartmouth college. He remains connected with the New York university.—Rev. E. A. Park, of Braintree, Mass. has been appointed professor of moral philosophy and Hebrew, in Amherst college.—Rev. Benjamin Labaree, of Tennessee, a graduate of Dartmouth college, has been chosen president of the Western Reserve college, in place of Rev. Charles B. Storrs, deceased. Mr. N. L. Folsom, of the Lane seminary, Ohio, has been named as professor of theology, in place of Rev. B. Green, resigned; and Mr. A. Newton, tutor in Yale college, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, in room of Mr. E. Wright, jr. resigned.—The Morrison college, of the Transylvania university, Lexington, Kentucky, founded by the liberality of Col. Morrison, who gave \$20,000 to the institution, has lately been dedicated. At the same time, Rev. B. O. Peers was inaugurated president of the university.—Messrs. Vethake, Mulligan, and Torrey, have resigned their professorships in the university of New York, in consequence of some misunderstanding with the chancellor.—A national Anti-slavery Society has lately been formed in Philadelphia, of which Arthur Tappan is president, William Lloyd Garrison and Elizur Wright, jr. secretaries.—Professor Hitchcock's view of the geology, mineralogy, &c. of Massachusetts, is now completed, and has just been issued from the press of the Messrs. Adams, of Amherst.—Key and Biddle of Philadelphia, have in press biographical sketches of a large number of celebrated Indian chiefs, by Col. T. L. McKenney, accompanied by 120 engravings, executed from the paintings of the gallery of Indian portraits in Washington. The whole work will be finished in a superior manner. The design is highly commended by Mr. P. S. Duponceau, and Mr. Jared Sparks.—Prof. Vethake is about to establish in Philadelphia, a new quarterly periodical, to be called the United States Review.—A Memoir of the Rev. E. Cornelius has just been published in Boston. A Sabbath school edition of the same memoir is in a course of preparation, to be in part compiled from original materials.

**Great Britain.**

Of the three universities where the episcopal clergy obtain their degrees, Dublin is the only one in which any attempt at a professional education for

divinity students is seriously made. At Oxford and Cambridge, the university qualifications for holy orders may be attained by going through some forms, of which *residence* is indeed one, but which are not calculated to enforce the acquisition of any theological information; while at Dublin, the *minimum* knowledge of divinity necessary for obtaining the university testimonial is far from being contemptible. The divinity school consists of the regius professorship, a lecture-ship founded by archbishop King, and five assistants. Every student must attend a course of lectures on the thirty-nine articles, and also archbishop King's lecturer, whose lectures will be connected with the last year of the undergraduate course.

London contains seven large hospitals, which, arranged according to their localities from east to west, are the London, Guy's, St. Bartholomew's, the Middlesex, St. Thomas's, the Westminster, and St. George's. There are, besides, the hospital of the London university, now erecting, and the London fever hospital. There are also numerous dispensaries, affording opportunities for attendance on medical practice. The terms vary but little. The charge for attendance at the St. George's and St. James's dispensary, is for *medical* practice, £6. 6s for fifteen months, and for *surgical*, £2. 2s for one year. To five of the seven hospitals first named, medical schools are attached, in which lectures on the theory and practice of medicine, *materia medica*, surgery, anatomy, midwifery, chemistry, botany, and medical jurisprudence, are delivered. Many diseases have long been explained, it is stated, on the principles of phrenology, at St. Thomas's hospital, the London university, and at the London fever hospital.—In 1732, the revenue of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was about £6,000; the number of its members 460, and the issue of its publications 16,000. In 1832, the revenue was £66,000, the members 15,000, and its publications 1,750,000.—The number of publicans in England and Wales, convicted for permitting disorderly conduct in their houses, or for keeping them open at improper hours, in the year ending April 1, 1833, was 1,795; the number of beer-house keepers, convicted of like offences, was 3,559.—In 1833, the number of his majesty's ships and vessels in commission, was five first rates, 2,910 men; two second rates, 844 men; four third rates, 2,358 men; five fourth rates, 2,255 men; ten fifth rates, 2,799 men; fourteen sixth rates, 2,409 men; thirty-five sloops, 3,655 men; thirty-three yachts, &c. 1,593 men; thirteen steam vessels, 464 men; and twenty-six packets, 754 men. The total amount of wages for the men and officers, 22,500 in number, was £687,375. Pay of able seamen is £1. 14s per lunar month.—The number of men in the British army at the same period was 100,790.—The number of imperial gallons of British and Irish spirits, which paid the home consumption duty in 1832, was 20,778,558; being a decrease on the preceding year of 1,066,850 gallons.—The number of Methodist preachers in England, in 1833, was 900; members, 279,170. In Ireland, preachers, 143; members, 45,786. The total number of preachers in the world, is 3,504; of members, 914,131.—There has recently been erected on the highest turret of the observatory at Greenwich, an apparatus by which naval captains, chronometer-makers, and all persons within sight of the apparatus, may know the instant when the sun passes the meridian at Greenwich.



**Spain.**

A professorship of *taurics* or bull fighting, has been recently established at the university of Seville. The salary of the chief professor has been fixed at 12,000 reals a year, and that of the next in rank at 8,000. For the support of this academy, every town in the kingdom, where bull-fights are enacted, is to contribute an annual sum of 120 reals.

**Italy.**

Rome contains 60 district schools, which are directed by laymen, and attended by about 2,000 pupils, who are admitted on a monthly payment, varying from two to four shillings. There are also seven parochial schools with 500, and seven other schools, conducted by the regular clergy, with 2,000 children, all of whom are taught gratuitously. The sum which the Papal treasury applied to the purposes of public education in 1831, including a grant to the museum and fine arts, was about £27,500. The Florence periodical, the *Antologia*, one of the best Italian journals, has been stopped by order of the Tuscan government.

**Germany.**

The present number of students in the university of Tübingen, is 822. Many of them are said to have been implicated in the late disturbances at Frankfort. Parents have avowedly been discouraged from sending their sons to Heidelberg, a school in which politics takes the lead of learning and science. There is not a single state in Germany without its orphan asylum.

**Bohemia.**

There is no part of the Austrian dominions in which more has been done for the education of the people at large, than Bohemia. That of the lower and middling classes is provided for by 2,500 Roman Catholic, 36 protestant, and 21 Jewish schools; amongst these are 42 high schools, besides a parent high school at Prague. By an average taken for the three years, 1824, 1825, 1826, it appears that Bohemia contained 470,207 children of a teachable age, out of whom 426,115 actually attended school.

**Russia.**

This empire is divided into seven university districts, each of which contains a greater or less number of provinces. A curator superintends every branch of education in these districts, and the whole of these functionaries are under the control of the minister of public instruction. Each district has its own university; every province in the district has one, and sometimes, more than one gymnasium attached to it, and as many communal schools as there are subdivisions in it. Besides these, there are many

elementary parochial schools. The seven districts and their universities are as follows :—

| <i>Districts.</i> | <i>Universities.</i> | <i>Founded.</i> | <i>Students.</i> |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Moscow,           | Moscow,              | 1755            | 900              |
| Wilna,            | Wilna,               | 1778            | 310              |
| Dorpat,           | Dorpat,              | 1802            | 612              |
| Charkow,          | Charkow,             | 1804            | 320              |
| Kasan,            | Kasan,               | 1804            | 100              |
| St. Petersburg,   | St. Petersburg,      | 1819            | 310              |
| Helsingfors,      | Helsingfors,         | 1827            | 470              |

The number of professors in these seven universities amounts to 300. The gymnasias are 64 in number. The communal schools, when the number is complete, will amount to 511. The whole number of newspapers published in this gigantic empire does not exceed 63. They are in twelve languages.

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## VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

### United States.

THE Congress of the United States assembled at Washington on the second day of December last. The message of the president gives a rapid view of the foreign and domestic relations of the country. It is a document of no great pretensions in a literary view, and is inferior to some of its predecessors. It will be regarded, however, with great interest, both at home and abroad, as an exposition of the real condition of the country, and of the feelings which actuate the government in respect to foreign powers. The negotiations with France, Spain, Portugal and Denmark, for indemnification on account of spoliation on our commerce in the last war, are in successful progress, though in France some delay has been occasioned, from a neglect on the part of the French chambers to make the requisite appropriations.—The question with respect to the North Eastern Boundary is still pending. A proposal has been made to the British government, to establish, in conformity with the resolution of the Senate of the United States, the line designated by the treaty of

1783.—Our relations to the Southern Republics have undergone little change during the last year. No reunion has taken place between the three States, which composed the government of Colombia—New Grenada, Venezuela, and Equator. Representatives from the three States are about to assemble at Bogota, to confer on the subject of their mutual interests, particularly that of their reunion.—Some of the most important claims of our countrymen upon the government of Brazil, have been satisfactorily adjusted.—The difficulties respecting the Falkland islands are not yet settled.—No diplomatic intercourse has been established with Peru or Bolivia.—The receipts into the treasury of the United States during the last year exceed thirty millions of dollars. The revenue derived from customs amounts to twenty-eight millions. The expenditures for all objects within the year, including more than two and a half millions of dollars on account of the public debt, amount to twenty-five millions. The debt of the United States, funded and unfunded, now amounts to four millions seven hundred and sixty thousand eighty-two dollars and eight cents. The entire debt will probably be extinguished during the year 1834.—The president goes at large into the reasons which induced him to withdraw the public deposits from the bank of the United States. The secretary of the treasury, Mr. Taney, in his annual report, also goes over the same ground at much greater length. The president proceeds to the extreme of hostility, and says, "In my own sphere of duty, I should feel myself called on by the facts disclosed, to order a *scire facias* against the bank, with a view to put an end to the chartered rights it has so palpably violated, were it not that the charter itself will expire as soon as a decision could be obtained from the court of last resort."—There is no part of the message more objectionable than that which is devoted to the Indians. He remarks that "they have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement, which are essential to any favorable change in their condition." It is proper to say in opposition to these assertions, that the Cherokees, and large portions of some other tribes, are in a state of more advanced civilization than the white communities by whom they are surrounded. It is not the pressure of civilization which is destroying the Indians, but the pressure of outlawry and crime. The first printing in the Cherokee character was executed in February, 1828, and at the present time nine thousand Cherokees, or more than one half of the nation, can read their language with more or less fluency. A female society for the suppression of vice and for benevolent purposes, have procured a library of more than three hundred volumes. There are not more than two or three families of the entire Stock-

bridge tribe of Indians which do not attend public worship on the Sabbath.—The Post Office department is in a condition of considerable embarrassment. It is reported that the expenditures will exceed the receipts by nearly a quarter of a million of dollars.—We are glad to see the recommendation of the president, that some penal and precautionary measures be adopted by Congress in relation to the use of steam power. The number of dreadful disasters which have recently happened from this source, owing without doubt to the criminal carelessness of many of the persons concerned, call loudly for prompt and effective legislation.

The honorable Henry Clay of Kentucky has recently made the tour of the Middle and most of the Northern States. He was everywhere received in a manner which must have been most grateful to his feelings. Very much to his honor he uniformly declined public dinners, and travelling on the Sabbath, thus giving the sanction of his high example to abstinence from two customs pernicious in their moral influence. He publicly stated that he had determined to regard the Sabbath, out of respect to the feelings of the people of the north, and also in accordance with his own sentiments. We exceedingly regret that, on several occasions, he attended the theatre. It would have been a most honorable addition to his claims upon our regard, if he had declined the invitations which were officiously protruded upon him to be present in those schools of immorality, and hot-beds of vice. The time is fast coming when no respectable man or woman will venture within the walls set apart to this licentious amusement. Attendance upon the theatre is at war with good taste, as well as with morality. He who frequents them must guard his ears against the ribaldry of the lowest order in society, and his pockets against the depredations of the most expert in the thieving craft.

An important license-law has lately been passed by the legislature of Vermont. It is altogether in advance of any legislation which we have observed in respect to the system. It constitutes the justices of the peace, selectmen, constables, and grandjurors of the respective towns, a board of civil authority to recommend persons to keep inns or houses of public entertainment, or to be retailers of ardent spirits, within their respective towns for one year. From this board there is no appeal, so the different towns have the whole control of the matter. All money paid for licenses, goes to the support of the poor. It puts an end to *tippling on tick*, as it is called. No trust or credit is to be given to any persons who wish to buy spirits. One section is for the encouragement of *temperance taverns*. Licences for them are to be granted free of any charge, except that of twenty-

five cents to the town treasurer, for the labor of writing them. Other licences may be taxed as high as fifty dollars. We trust that these salutary provisions will lead the way to the entire abolition of the whole system.

Two very important State conventions on the subject of temperance have been recently held, one in Utica, New York, and the other in Middletown, Conn. Of the New York convention, general Jacob Morris, a venerable revolutionary patriot, was president. The number of members was about two hundred and fifty. A series of resolutions was adopted—the most important of which was one declaring the traffic in ardent spirits to be an immorality. Upon this resolution there were fourteen votes in the negative. No individual, however, dissented from the position that the traffic is immoral, but it was thought to be inexpedient by a few persons to *declare* it to be so. At the Connecticut convention, attended by one hundred and thirty delegates, the same resolution was passed *unanimously*. All things in this country are manifestly tending to one result—the classing of the use of ardent spirits, and the traffic in them, *as a violation of the moral law*, a crime equally injurious to man and displeasing to God.

It is becoming a serious inquiry whether it is proper to make a political question of temperance, or to regard the adherence to temperance principles as an indispensable requisite in a candidate for a civil office. Perhaps it is not judicious to make use of the words *temperance party*, or similar phraseology. Ground ought to be taken which will cover that. *Moral principle* should be demanded in all candidates for political office, and if a man has moral principle, he will be a friend to temperance. Here let there be a rallying point. The sooner every man deposits his vote with the understanding that he is thereby promoting the moral interests of the community, the better. We utterly repudiate any other doctrine. The position that a man, because he has supported the Jackson, or National Republican party, is thereby and forever bound to support every man who is nominated for office by either of those parties, or by any other, cannot be maintained. It is entirely subversive of morality as a part of a political creed. Has a candidate for office a good moral character, is by far the most important question which can be asked concerning him. There are certain indications that politics, as such, or separate from morals, are losing their potency over the public mind in this country. Moral principle, led on and nurtured very much by the temperance reformation, will be a great antagonist force, to that political Machiavellism, which has long usurped a most disastrous sway over the minds of good as well as bad men.

On the 5th of November, the ship Jupiter sailed from Hampton

Roads, Virginia, for Liberia, with 50 colored emigrants. Among the passengers were the Rev. Messrs. Pinney, Cloud, Laird, Spalding, and Wright, missionaries; Mrs. Laird, Mrs. Spalding, Mrs. Wright, Miss Farrington, Mr. John Temple, assistant missionaries; Mr. A. D. Williams, vice agent, and Mr. J. J. Roberts, high sheriff of the colony, and Dr. Todsén, physician. Mr. Pinney is appointed temporary governor of the colony. Another ship has since sailed with 60 emigrants from the same place. An expedition is about to depart from Savannah, Georgia, with 97 free colored persons, of whom 35 are adults, all members of a temperance society. There are 30 or 40 others who have the subject under serious consideration. Mr. J. G. Birney, of Alabama, in an essay published in a newspaper of that State, has the following remark, "that all which is wanting to disburden the States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, of slavery, in a reasonable time, is the means to defray the cost of a comfortable conveyance to a safe and pleasant home, of all slaves who may be offered by their owners for removal." The Hon. Wm. Gaston, a venerable statesman of North Carolina, in an address delivered before a literary society at Chapel Hill, has the following strong language. "On you will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation; and is it too much to hope for in North Carolina? for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the southern part of our confederacy? Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprize; it is fatal to economy and prudence; it discourages skill; impairs our strength as a community, and *poisons morals at the fountain head*. I felt that I could not discharge my duty without referring to the subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation, and firmness of those, who, sooner or later, must act decisively upon it."

In the State of Kentucky, considerable interest has been recently felt in the subject of popular education. A meeting of the friends of the cause was held in Lexington, in November, which was numerously attended, and which was the means of eliciting a great variety of important facts. In one of the six most enlightened counties of the State, sixty-three families were found, containing three hundred and eighteen souls, among whom was found *but one* individual in each family that could read an English sentence, and three fourths of those were unable to read with any fluency. In another place *fifteen* families, comprising eighty-seven persons, were found, not one of whom could read a single word. Several of the families consisted of

eight, nine, or ten members, apparently in comfortable circumstances, who possessed no Bibles, and *refused* to accept of any when gratuitously offered. It was surely with great appropriateness that the question of the importance of the immediate establishment of a school for educating teachers, was amply discussed by the convention.—Great difficulties have been recently experienced between the General Government, and the Executive of Alabama, in respect to the intrusion of white men upon the lands of the Creek Indians. By a treaty with that tribe, the president of the United States is required to remove all persons who shall attempt to settle upon those lands. It seems that this duty was so long neglected, that fifteen or twenty thousand individuals were quietly seated on their usurped and stolen rights. It hence became nearly impossible to remove them. Several spirited letters passed between the secretary of war, and governor Gayle. A considerable body of the troops of the United States have been ordered to appear on the disputed territory. In the mean time, the whole subject is to pass under the review of the congress. All difficulty would probably have been avoided, had the national government not succumbed to the will of Georgia in a similar case. The principles of the Cherokee and Creek controversies, as far as we understand them, are in all essential points, similar.—The following circumstance we record with great pleasure. At a circuit court for September term, 1833, in St. Clair county, Alabama, judge Adair presiding, came up for trial a Cherokee Indian, indicted for the murder of an Indian in the Cherokee territory in Alabama. The counsel for the nation filed a plea to the jurisdiction of Alabama, as repugnant to the treaties, &c. of the United States. Judge Adair remarked that he was sworn to support the constitution and treaties of the United States, and that he should be strictly governed by them. In an elaborate opinion, he declared the laws of Alabama over the Cherokees null and void, and repugnant to the treaties and laws of the United States. In this connection it may be remarked that governor Carroll, of Tennessee, in a message to the legislature of that State, maintained substantially the same doctrines as judge Adair. The legislature of Tennessee, however, after a close debate, passed, by a small majority, a law extending the jurisdiction of Tennessee over that portion of the Cherokee country, which is alleged to lie within the State. The principal arguments of the committee which reported the law were the *customs of other States*, and the desperate circumstances of the Cherokees—arguments totally destitute of foundation.

It is an interesting fact, that the new attorney general of the United States, Benjamin Franklin Butler, of Albany, is by the con-

sent of all parties, a man of decided religious principle. He is an active member of the church, and has been for a long time a Sabbath school teacher. The secretary of war also has a high reputation as a friend to morality and religion. His decided measures in respect to the discontinuance of the use of ardent spirits in the army, are well known to our readers. Another important measure lately adopted for the amelioration of the moral habits of the soldiery, is the discontinuance of all parades on the Sabbath. A very respectable number of the members of the senate and house of representatives of the United States, deserve the honorable appellation of Christian patriots.

### **Europe.**

A great degree of uncertainty seems to hang over the destinies of Europe. Britain, France, Belgium, and perhaps two or three smaller states, are tacitly leagued on the side of freedom and the rights of man, in opposition to Russia, Prussia, Austria, &c. The southern and central continental countries are the debateable ground. Germany and Italy are held in awe by Prussia and Austria, while France and England are countenancing the constitutionalists of Spain and Portugal. Italy seems to be ripe for a revolution. We doubt if iron-handed Austria can much longer repress the disturbances. Russia presents the singular spectacle of a monarch, absolute and irresistible, whose whole influence is exerted to extinguish the flame of liberty wherever it shall burst forth, and at the same time possessing an excellent private character. Nicholas, we are assured, is beloved by the foreigners in his capital. Together with most of the members of his family, he appears to be a warm friend of morals and religion. This is the unanimous testimony of American merchants in St. Petersburg, and of the honorable James Buchanan, the late American minister at that court. Seamen from the United States at the port of Cronstadt, were permitted on the last fourth of July, openly to celebrate their country's independence. The conduct of the Russian government towards Poland, may not have been the result of the private feelings and opinions of Nicholas; it is doubtless a part of the recent policy of the empire; it is also in accordance with the notions of some of the emperor's ministers and advisers, particularly Metternich of Austria, who seems to stand at the helm of all eastern Europe. These facts should teach us not to assail Nicholas as a man, in that indiscriminate manner, in which he has frequently been condemned in this country.



*Asia.*

The government of Mohammed Ali over Syria, seems to be more arbitrary than was to have been expected from his character and professions. We are not yet, however, in possession of sufficient facts to warrant us in forming a decisive opinion of his general policy. The complaints which are made, may be the result of the salutary curtailment of that licentious liberty which has heretofore been enjoyed. Syria, in all her districts, needs a determined head. The Turkish government are apprehending more and more the importance of education. A request has been lately made to the American missionaries in Constantinople, directly from the sultan himself, ask for their aid in establishing schools in the Turkish army.

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**OBITUARY NOTICES.****HANNAH MORE.**

THIS celebrated author and excellent woman, was born in 1744, at the village of Stapleton, Gloucestershire, England. She was the youngest of five sisters, none of whom entered into the marriage state. Her father was a clergyman of worthy character, and of high classical attainment. Hannah manifested very early in life a strong relish for books. After reading her father's library, she had recourse to those of some friends, in the village of Hanham near Bristol. It is stated that Richardson's novel, Pamela, was the first book which inspired her with a passion for reading. While her sisters were engaged in tuition, she was trying her powers in the composition of verse. At the age of seventeen, she completed her "Search after Happiness," and her "Sacred Dramas." But neither was published for some years after. In 1774, she was encouraged to print her "Sir Eldred of the Bower," the "Bleeding Rock," and the "Inflexible Captive." Mr. Garrick advised her to write for the stage. Her ode to Dragon, Mr. Garrick's house dog, came from the press in 1777, as did also a volume of "Essays on Several Subjects." Next year, her tragedy of "Percy," came out. It was well received,

and established her fame as a dramatic writer. In 1779, she produced "*Fatal Falsehood*," a tragedy. After some years, the Misses Mores had acquired so much celebrity as instructors, that they removed to Bristol, and opened a boarding-school in Park street. Miss Hannah More accompanied them to Bristol, where she acquired the friendship of Dr. Stonehouse, a gentleman of considerable reputation. She was honored with the intimate acquaintance of Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, and many other eminent individuals.

About the year 1782, her publications assumed a decidedly religious character and tendency. Under a deep conviction that to live to the glory of God, and to the good of her fellow-creatures, ought to be the great object of human existence, she quitted the bright circle of fashion and literature, and devoted herself to a life of active Christian benevolence, and to the composition of various highly useful works. The sisters having at length acquired a competent property, purchased a residence, called Barley Wood, delightfully situated near the village of Wrington, at the foot of the Mendip hills. The selection of the spot, and the whole arrangement, reflected the highest credit upon their taste and judgment. Here Hannah More produced "*Cœlebs in Search of a Wife*," which passed through ten editions in one year; "*Hints towards forming the Character of a Young Princess*;" "*Practical Piety*;" "*Christian Morals*;" "*Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World*;" "*Strictures on the Modern Systems of Female Education*;" "*Life of St. Paul*;" "*Remarks on the Speech of M. Depont*;" "*On Religious Education*;" "*Moral Sketches of Prevailing Opinions and Manners*;" "*The Spirit of Prayer*." Her miscellaneous works have been collected in eight volumes.

On the death of her last surviving sister, Miss Martha More, she exchanged her residence at Barley Wood for Clifton, near Bristol, where she lived until her death, which took place on the 7th of September, 1833, at the age of 88 years. Her remains were interred on the 13th, in the family-vault at Wrington. She assured a friend that she reposed her hopes of salvation on the merits of Christ alone; at the same time expressing a firm and joyful affiance on his unchangeable promises.

Her bequests to various benevolent societies were discriminating, and most munificent, in all amounting to between £10,000 and £11,000. The whole of her residuary estate, which, it is thought, will amount to a considerable sum, she bequeathed to the new church in the parish of St. Philip, Bristol.

did in his spirit, though a firm adherent to the doctrines and government of the Presbyterian church.—Two leading Unitarian clergymen have lately died, Nathan Parker, D. D. Portsmouth, N. H., and Eliphalet Porter, D. D. Roxbury, Mass. Dr. Porter has lately manifested a very warm interest, and taken a very honorable part, in the promotion of temperance.

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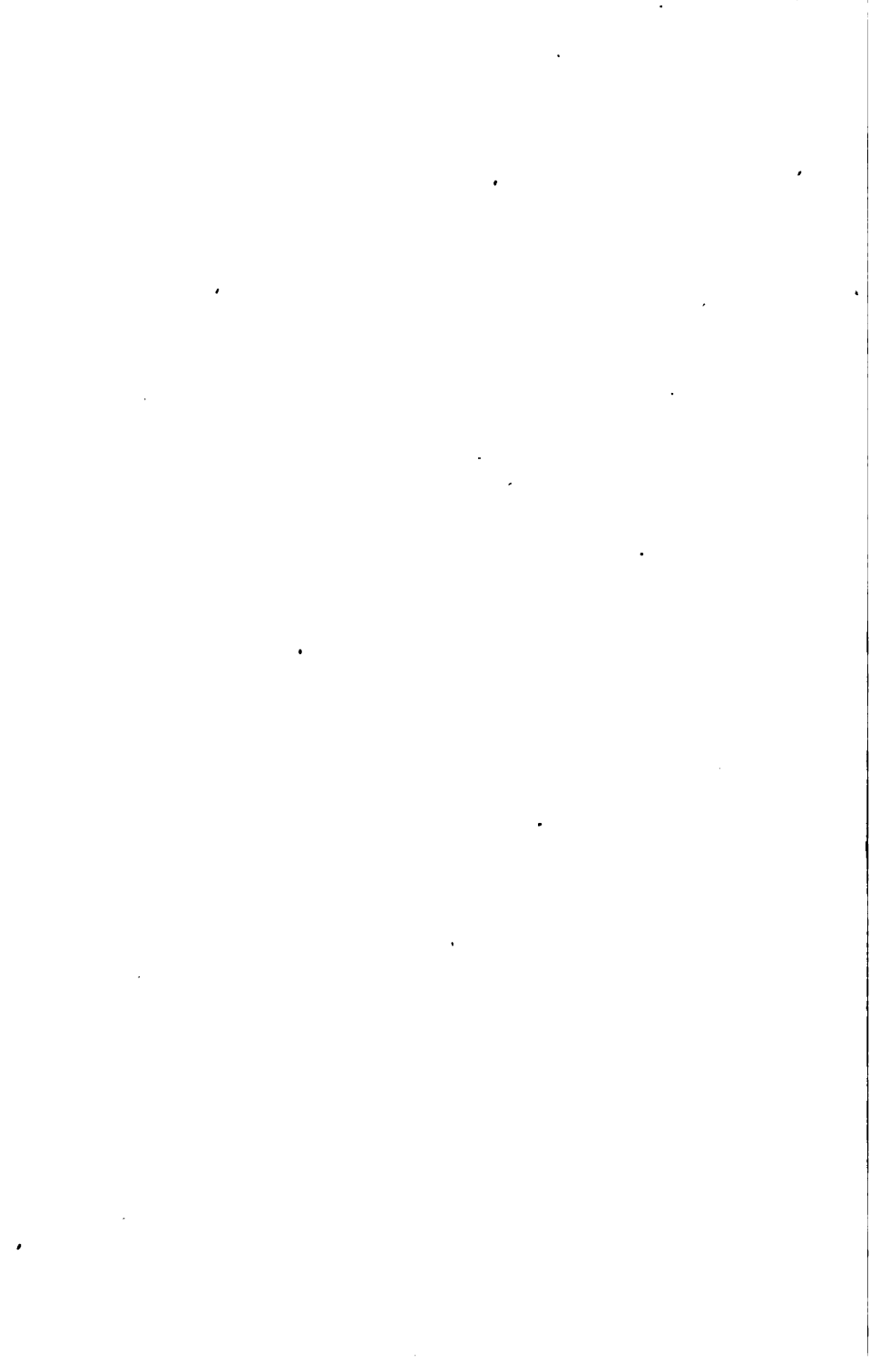
## ERRATA.

In the second number of the Observer, p. 300, second paragraph, for *plan*, read *place*. Page 304, middle of the page, for *chaos*, read *chasm*; on the same page, 3d line from the bottom, *general* relations, should read *moral* relations.

In the present number, p. 44, Chauncy was the antagonist of the *second* president Edwards, not of the *first*, as there stated. Page 132, line 14, for *sailor*, read *bailees*.

**AMERICAN**  
**QUARTERLY OBSERVER.**

**APRIL, 1834.**



## CONTENTS OF No. IV.

---

| ART.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | PAGE. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <b>I. DR. CORAY, AND THE GREEK CHURCH, . . .</b><br><i>By GREGORY A. PERDICARIS, late Professor in Washington College.</i>                                                                                                               | 199   |
| <b>II. THE ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY, . . . .</b><br><i>By Rev. ALBERT BARNES, Philadelphia.</i>                                                                                                                                            | 227   |
| <b>III. REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF ETHICAL SCIENCE, . . . . .</b><br><i>By Rev. DAVID PHARODY, Lydd, Mass.</i>                                                                                                                      | 247   |
| <b>IV. ON THE RIGHT OF DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, . . . . .</b><br><i>By THE EDITOR.</i>                                                                                                                                         | 261   |
| <b>V. THE STUDY OF SACRED HISTORY, . . . .</b><br><i>By CHARLES B. HADDUCK, Professor in Dartmouth College.</i>                                                                                                                          | 269   |
| <b>VI. MORAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF BYRON, . . . . .</b><br><i>By Rev. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, Boston, Mass.</i><br><i>Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life. By Thomas Moore. In two volumes.</i>   | 291   |
| <b>VII. BRYANT'S POEMS, . . . . .</b><br><i>By C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University.</i><br><i>Poems. By William Cullen Bryant.</i>                                                                                             | 308   |
| <b>VIII. DR. PORTER'S LECTURES ON PREACHING, . .</b><br><i>Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching, and on Public Prayer, together with Sermons and Letters. By Ebenezer Porter, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary, Andover.</i> | 325   |

CONTENTS.

IX. ADULTERATION OF WINES, . . . . . 341

By THE EDITOR.

A History and Description of Modern Wines. By Cyrus Redding.

X. CRITICAL NOTICES, . . . . . 350

1. Whately's Rhetoric.
2. Revolution in France.
3. Milton's Works.
4. Hartford Convention.
5. The Cottage Bible.
6. Montgomery's Lectures.
7. Villers's Essay.
8. American Biography.
9. Treatise on Roads.
10. Jervis's Narrative.
11. Analytical Statics.
12. American Annual Register.
13. Constitutional Class Book.
14. England and the English.
15. De Sacy's Grammar.
16. Dymond's Essays.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE, . . . . . 374

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, . . . . . 379

OBITUARY NOTICES, . . . . . 395

# QUARTERLY OBSERVER.

No. IV.

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APRIL, 1834.

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## ARTICLE I.

### DR. CORAY, AND THE GREEK CHURCH.

**DURING** the days of the Roman Greek emperors, the state and church were in strange confusion. Emperors wore the sable mitre, and patriarchs glittered with the royal purple: State officers wrote commentaries, and monks practised the art of war. The temporal and spiritual power of the empire had been blended together. A union of such conflicting elements could not exist for any length of time without annihilating itself by the very friction of its heterogeneous materials, and nothing but the Turkish crescent prevented its total dissolution. The fatal blow which fell upon the eastern empire, decomposed the temporal and spiritual power of the state; and by the utter annihilation of the former, preserved the latter.

Had the conqueror of Constantinople refused to recognize and throw around the Greek church the shield of protection, or had the Greeks been free from superstition, the same tempest which levelled the liberties of Greece to the ground, would have also swept from the face of the earth the Greek nation itself. The interest of the one, and the ignorance of the other, prevented this calamity. The Turk found it his interest to preserve the spiritual power of the nation in the most unspiritual condition imaginable. The common people were too ignorant to perceive that the church had lost its primitive beauty and simplicity, and the more enlightened—for there were such in process of time—of this



community, though sensible of the many errors and absurdities which from time to time had crept into the system of their religion, were fully aware that the venerable institution of the church, *with all its defects*, was the only palladium of their national existence; they knew that under the existing circumstances, the mere attempt to reform, would have a direct tendency to break the only link which held the Greek nation together. Conscious, therefore, of the beneficial effects of superstition, in this respect, upon the minds of the ignorant, and anxious to strengthen the national ties, they paid a due deference to all the ceremonies of the Greek church.

But ignorance and superstition, like learning and refinement, have their aim. The ignorance and superstition of the Greeks had arrived at its zenith on the capture of Constantinople; and, like the Ottoman power, held its high throne for more than a century after this historical event. As soon as the Turkish power began to wane, that instant the Greek nation began to rise from the depths of ignorance. The common schools rose to academies, academies to colleges, and colleges to universities. Commerce began to flourish and pour its wealth upon the shores of Greece. The universities of Europe began to be visited by some of the best sons of Greece, and a great part of the population were so far educated that there was little danger of their being dazzled by the divine light of truth. At this interesting epoch, which was the precursor of the memorable revolution of 1821, a number of literary characters set themselves to work, and, with the powerful weapons of reason and ridicule, commenced a brisk attack upon the abuses of the Greek church. These efforts though partially silenced by the sound of war, have not been altogether discontinued, and though some of the champions of this religious warfare have suffered by circumstances, the illustrious Coray has been constantly gathering strength.

This enlightened son of Greece is a native of Scio. After he had finished his preparatory studies in the college of Smyrna, he went to Europe, and received the degree of M. D. in the university of Montpellier. Soon after the completion of his professional studies, he passed to Paris, and while there, he offered to enlightened Europe a French translation of the works of Theophrastus and Hippocrates. These first attempts of Coray, though highly appreciated

by the scholars of western Europe, were not calculated to make his name known in the land which gave him birth. To these, however, followed a pamphlet, written in the French language, and entitled "*De l'Etat actuel de la Civilization en Grece.*" This little essay, which was written with a view of correcting the erroneous opinions of Europeans respecting the actual condition of Greece, was translated into modern Greek, and was the means of introducing the author to his countrymen. Coray's modern Greek translation of Beccaria made him known to them, as a man of letters and a patriot. The good success with which this able work met in Greece, encouraged the translator in his career; he edited the Ethiopics of Heliodorus, and commenced under the liberal patronage of the benevolent Zosimades his "Bibliotheca," or "Hellenic Library." To every volume of this Library, Coray added not only copious annotations, but prefixed learned and able prolegomena. These prefaces bespeak him to be a man of extensive reading and a scholar of powerful and profound mind. Every page of his prolegomena seems to be animated with the spirit of a patriot and the soul of a philosopher. Through these, he succeeded in settling and establishing the long fluctuating and disturbed element of the modern Greek language; and he has fanned the dying embers of the Grecian intellect, and has fostered the political independence and regeneration of Greece.

Coray, imbued with the spirit and high morality of the gospel, and conscious of the great and salutary influence which religion exerts upon the moral and intellectual condition of nations, has never lost sight of the Greek church. His literary efforts against the abuses of this venerable institution, have been as constant as they have been well directed. It is true that they have wrought, as yet, no apparent change in the external appearance of things; but his eloquent appeals and powerful arguments, his great name and authority, and more than all, his ingenuity in treating the subject, have already awakened inquiry in the minds of the most enlightened Greeks; and one needs no light of inspiration to foresee that Greece will soon undergo a religious revolution.

Whether we view this approaching event with the eye of a philosopher, or a statesman, with the feelings of citizens, or Christians, we find ourselves equally interested. The mere anticipation of such a momentous event, fills the mind

with the most intense interest, and naturally turns our attention to those who are destined to be the authors and actors of an era calculated to produce great and important changes in the moral and spiritual condition of Greece.

Much has been done in America for this nation by the friends of civil rights, and religious liberty. Their benevolent efforts, however great in extent and pure in principle, can only be regarded, in reference to the reformation of the Greek church, as secondary and auxiliary means. Coming as they do from a foreign source, they may, through the medium of education, and the judicious use of the press, operate indirectly, they may mature and accelerate the desired reformation; but it will be impossible for them to create a general revolution. Such an attempt from any other quarter but the Greeks themselves, will have the direct tendency to arouse the prejudices of the ignorant, and the pride of the learned, and thus retard, and possibly endanger the true interest of Greece and Christianity. In pointing out what seems to us to be the proper place of foreign assistance, we do not mean to depreciate its worth, but we wish to call the attention of our readers to the important truth, that *the Greeks must act or nothing can be done*. A revolution is a change of existing circumstances, a search of happiness. The ingredients of this happiness must be sought in their own bosom, and it will be well for the friends of Greece as well as for the Greeks themselves to recollect

"That those who would be free, themselves must strike the blow,  
By their own right arms the conquest must be sought."

With a view of laying before the American public, the opinions of the Greeks, on the subject of the Greek church, we propose to give an historical sketch with extracts from Dr. Coray's works on this *important subject*. These writings of Coray which are scattered throughout his prolegomena, are of great consequence, not so much for what they have done, as for what they are destined to accomplish; for though the hand which has traced them is already laid in the cold earth, the spirit which animates them will ever continue to instruct, and direct the sons of Greece.\*

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\*The mournful news of Dr. Coray's death has recently been received. Those who are acquainted with the life and literary productions of this great patriot and illustrious philosopher, can alone feel his loss and envy his fortune. Dr. Coray died in the 85th year of his age, and in the midst of

In the prolegomena, which are prefixed to the first volume of Plutarch's Lives, and edited as early as 1804, we find Coray touching for the first time upon the subject of the Greek church. He seems to enter into it without any premeditation or design.

"Every city in Greece," says Coray, "ought to have under the roof of its church two boxes of contribution; one for the support of and maintenance of its own school, and the other for the assistance of the general fund at Constantinople. Should any one, in consequence of the numerous boxes of contribution, designed for the support of different monasteries, be terrified at the appearance of new ones; the antidote is at hand. All those monasteries, which favored the cause of learning by supporting instructors, who are capable of teaching the arts and sciences, or even the Greek language only, ought to be allowed to send their boxes to

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his literary toils. His long life, like that of the old philosopher of Greece, has been the beginning of a lasting glory. He has only changed one immortality for another. We have been informed by a friend who visited Coray on his death-bed, that the last illness and consequent death of this scholar was occasioned by his having fallen from his chair on the floor of his room; and that he was attended in the last moments of his life by two young Greeks, both of whom are alumni of Yale college. As it is not in our power to give at present a more full obituary, we would subjoin to our remarks the following sketch which we copy from a work entitled "*Cours de Littérature Grecque Modern.*"

"The history of the third period can be comprised in the life of Dr. Coray. This extraordinary man, who was born in Smyrna, in 1748, of Sciot parents, having gone through a liberal course of study in the college of Smyrna, passed to Europe and has lately fixed himself in France. It will be superfluous to expatiate on the details of his life, and more so on those of his scientific works—subjects for which one can consult the biography of contemporaries. At the commencement of the present century, Greece scarcely knew that France possessed a Greek called Coray. Little did his countrymen care that he had taken his degree in the university of Montpellier, that he had published some works on medicine, and that he had offered to enlightened Europe a French translation of Theophrastus, and Hippocrates. Greece knew not Coray till he had published in modern Greek the treatise of Beccaria on crimes and punishments, which he accompanied with notes and prolegomena. This remarkable production, either on account of the epoch in which it appeared, or on account of the end which the translator had in view, made a lively impression upon the minds of the Greeks. Coray dedicated this work to the republic of the Seven Islands. This republic was created in 1800. It was the first time that the Christian powers seemed to take an interest in the affairs of enslaved Greece, and bestowed upon a small part of her territory a shadow of political existence. The Ionic republic excited high expectations among the other Greeks, who, from the bosom of darkness, viewed this pleiad which presaged a brilliant day for the whole nation; they seemed to discover in the new constitution of the Seven Islands, a benevolent disposition of the European powers towards Greece. Under such circumstances, the translation of Beccaria, which was dedicated to the Ionian republic, was widely

the different churches of Greece ; but those which neither trouble themselves with the support of instructors, nor are willing to aid the course of education, must be denied an assistance which ought to be applied to the benefit of our common country. In saying this, I am far from being apprehensive of giving offence ; far, since many of those who belong to the monastic order have, of their own accord, shown their zeal in behalf of Greece. Such are the venerable fathers of Vadopedee. Anxious to illumine the tops of Mt. Athos with the light of Europe, they have already invited from Cydonia a professor, and have thus offered to their mother Greece an acceptable return for all the kindness they have received from her. It is lamentable, it is shameful, that in the nineteenth century, when many enlightened princes of Europe apply the enormous incomes of the monasteries to the support of schools, we should give to a few monks what is due to the

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circulated, and Coray was celebrated throughout Greece, as a learned man and a patriot.

In the meanwhile, Europe, notwithstanding the crowd of her travellers, was as yet ignorant respecting the moral situation of Greece. Coray was the first, who, in a memoir entitled "*De l'Etat actuel de la Civilization en Grece*," pointed out the awakening of the Greek nation, and its progress towards an intellectual state, infinitely better than that in which the Europeans believed her to be, as yet, plunged. This pamphlet which was written in French and translated into modern Greek, was circulated throughout Greece, and stimulated the Greeks, who doubled their growing powers.

"After the edition of the Ethiopics of Heliodorus, Coray, a man worthy of the age in which he lived, and above the vanity of an author, commenced the beautiful edition of his Hellenic Library, or a collection of Greek Classics, printed at the expense of the brothers Zosimades.—The first volumes contain the works of two celebrated authors ; the one of them is Isocrates, a classic author and a virtuous citizen ; the other is the good Plutarch, a writer, who, in point of literary merit, belongs to the second class, but whose patriotic sentiments are worthy of the age of Phocion and Epaminondas. The musical language of Isocrates, his oratorical talents, and his expressions, which are full of grace and sentiment, merited the admiration of his age ; and though he is accused, sometimes, of having made ill use of his oratory, his writings have never ceased to be regarded as a model of taste and elegance ; a precious source for the legislators, the orators and the citizens of every age and every country. It is for this reason that Coray, in commencing a work specially designed for the high education of the young Greeks, and desiring to inspire them with elevated sentiments as well as with a taste for the ancient literature, chose, by way of preference, the orations of Isocrates. The Parallel Lives followed. Plutarch, a native of Cheronæa, the tomb of the Grecian liberties, was, in his time, the only child who thought of Greece, his mother ; he wished, in writing his Parallel Lives, to show to the Greeks, who humbled themselves before their conquerors, that the ancient Romans could hardly bear a comparison with the heroes of ancient Greece, how much less those when they then adorned with the absurd appellations of *divine* and of *august* !

"Coray accompanied his editions of Isocrates and of Plutarch, with notes

whole nation of Greece. Philosophy instructs us that every individual shall support himself by his own hands. Sacred history informs us that our Creator placed man on earth in order to gain his livelihood not by the hand of others, but by the sweat of his own brow; and St. Paul cries 'If any should not work, neither shall he eat.' Thess. b. iii. 10. He who supports indolent persons is at best a fool. But he, who suffers himself to rust away in sloth or laziness, and stoops to receive his substance from the hands of the active and the industrious, be he a monk or a layman, is surely a shameless slave."

Here Dr. Coray recollecting, as it seems, that the Greek monasteries were the favorite objects of the ignorant, and that the monks, who were scouring the country with their boxes of contribution, were in the habit of paying largely to the bishops of the diocess, for the rights of begging; recol-

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and prolegomena, which bespeak him to be a philosopher, a man of letters, and a citizen. These preliminary essays are on the improvement and perfection of which the modern Greek language is capable. On the best method of composing grammars and teaching the youth. On the manner of reading the ancient authors to the best advantage; on the light of experimental philosophy; and on the duties which the Greeks of every age and condition owe to their country. These counsels of Coray, expressed with eloquence and simplicity, supported by powerful arguments, and accredited by the European reputation of their author, produced upon the reading class of the Greeks prodigious effects. In vain did pedantry oppose itself to these powerful truths. In vain did the old routines of every college interpose an obstinate resistance; these innovations found throughout Greece a favorable reception; so far had the nation already advanced, so far were their minds free of prejudice.

"Coray observing the intellectual revolution which his counsel produced in Greece, doubled his efforts, and continued without relaxation, to give out edition after edition of the Greek Classics, accompanied with notes and prolegomena. Next to the Lives of Plutarch, made their appearance, under the title of Rodromus, the Various History of *Ælian*, and the fragments of *Heraclides* and of *Nicholas Damascinus*. Indefatigable in his exertions, he published the Fables of *Æsop*, the Geography of *Strabo*, the first four books of the *Iliad*, and the odd witticism of the Scholastic *Hierocles*. The young Greeks who were educated in the colleges of *Smyrna*, *Cydonia*, *Scio*, *Bucharest* and *Coarutchesme*, passed to Europe, and particularly to France, where they were attracted by the reputation of Coray."

Coray, besides the works contained in the above sketch, has edited the Politics of Aristotle, of which we have already made mention; and has also published five octavo volumes of Miscellanies. These five volumes may be said to constitute a full but desultory work on the modern Greek philology; they contain some of the most various as well as valuable information on the subject of the ancient and modern Greek languages—history, ethics, politics, theology, &c. &c. Since the publication of these volumes, he has given to the world what he terms "*The Minister's Vademecum*." This work contains an able preface of at least forty pages, on the subject of the Greek church, the two Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy, and the one to Titus, with the modern translation, and ample annotations.

lecting that the whole body of the clergy, from the patriarch down to the deacon and sexton, were monks, most of whom were "rusting in sloth and laziness;" recollecting that the church and state were bound to each other by the ties of interest, and more than all, recollecting that we can seldom reap advantage from a premature blow, retreats; but even in his retreat he gathers the fruit of victory. Unwilling to show that he had laid his hand on sacred things, he places the spoils destined to achieve the regeneration of Greece, in the hands of the patriarch. Whether the high and eloquent eulogium which Dr. Coray pronounces on the wisdom of this prelate is a tribute to true merit, or a mere adulation bestowed in order to secure the right of whipping the rest of the monks with impunity, is not in our power to assert. Be this as it may, suffice it to say, that Dr. Coray recommends to the head of the Greek church the common schools of Greece with all their pupils and teachers; he entreats the venerable patriarch to lend his influence and assistance in sending to Europe those young men who seemed devoted to the cause of their country, and who were anxious to transplant to her shores the most improved methods of instruction, as well as the lights of the arts and sciences; he calls upon him in the name of the Greek church and religion, to assist and encourage those sons of Greece who were actively engaged in the glorious cause of her regeneration, and reminds him that this ought to commence with the improvement of his court.

"The treasury of the national council at Constantinople ought to pay the salary of the patriarchal secretary. This officer ought to be not only a good Greek scholar, but a man well versed in the arts and sciences of enlightened Europe, and also familiar with the languages of the most distinguished nations. The patriarchal palace is in some measure a royal court. The decrees as well as circular letters, which issue from it, ought to be such as to read well if translated in other languages. Hitherto the common misfortune of the nation was such that it did not permit the council either to give great salaries, or procure the services of a man worthy to be the secretary of the patriarch and the whole nation. The misfortune was great, but fortunately it was known only to the Greeks, that at present, when the enlightened nations seem to be interested in the amelioration of Greece, no circular letters ought to issue from the patriarchal palace

unworthy our present condition and the fame of our patriarch."

One of the greatest obstacles to the regeneration of Greece, was not the want of able and learned men, but the absence of some medium by which they could communicate their thoughts and exchange their opinions. The intellectual empire of Greece resembled, previous to the Greek revolution, a newly discovered continent, chequered with villas, towns, and cities, but destitute of every communication, and deprived of all the advantages derived from the exchange of native and peculiar products. To throw some light upon our obscure figure, let us illustrate its meaning by matter of fact. At the period of which we are speaking, Greece had many sons of enlightened minds and high literary attainments in her different towns and cities, but these scholars had no medium of communication. Greece, virtually, had no press. The only press in Greece, or rather in Turkey, to which the Greek scholars could have access, was at the patriarchal court of Constantinople; but this press was devoted, as it might be expected, to religious works, and issued nothing but homilies—all written in ancient Greek—and lives of saints. Such works produced but little evil, and less good. Dr. Coray, anxious to free the press from the fetters of ignorance, and thus put in the hands of the Greeks a power, which, like that of Jove,

"Shakes the feeble prop of human trust,  
And towns and armies humbles to the dust,"—*Iliad* ii. 117.

reminds the patriarch of its great importance in the following words :

"The patriarchal press stands also in great need of improvement and perfection. This ought to be done at the expense of the general fund. If enlightened Europe thought the embellishment of the letters of every language a thing worthy her attention, it is high time that we who are anxious to introduce in Greece the arts and sciences, should imitate this good action of Europe. Such attention is due to the press because it is a heavenly gift, and a sacred invention. The press alone has subdued the all-conquering time, and has preserved the wise precepts of our ancestors, and the counsels of all the ancient philosophers. This alone has spread and facilitated the perusal of ancient as well as modern works, has scattered among the common people



correct opinions, and has enlightened many nations of Europe. This, even now, like an angel from heaven, disturbs the pool of the sciences, and dips in it Greece, in order to cure her many and long afflictions, and cleanse her from the foulness of ignorance. This at last, by disseminating the wretched and miserable works of the inhuman anti-philosophers shows, more and more, not only the gigantic power of philosophy, but also the foolish and ridiculous wrestlings of her pigmy-like enemies."

Dr. Coray, however, knew that the improvement of the patriarchal press was but poorly calculated to meet the end he had in view; he was fully aware that even if it did succeed to issue works of worth and practical utility, it would have still been inadequate to supply the peculiar and pressing wants of the country. A man like Coray could not be ignorant that books of any size would have been of too great a bulk to find the peasant's cottage, and of too great a magnitude to force their way into little heads. The misfortune which then oppressed Greece, was indeed great, but this great calamity consisted of little atoms, each of which stood in need of an antidote peculiar and proportionate to the evil it was intended to cure. None but a pedant pretends to write great books on little subjects. Greece stood in need of some periodical, or newspaper, calculated, from its very nature, to treat on every subject of life, and suit and benefit every individual member of the society. But could the priests favor the operation of such an instrument? And if they did, could Constantinople be a fit and proper place? Let us hear how Dr. Coray endeavors to enlighten the patriarch on the importance of such a periodical, and how he attempts to overcome difficulties inherent in the nature of things.

"The greatest of all the benefits which the press has ever conferred upon the civilized communities of the world, are political and philological newspapers. Before the invention of the printing art, the communication of philosophical opinions from one nation to another was either impracticable or subject to great delay. In ancient Greece, which was but a small part of Europe, often whole years were requisite in order to make known from one neighboring city to another new and useful discoveries in the arts and sciences; while at present, a few days are sufficient to transport every new invention from one end of Europe to the other. We should

easily perceive how great is the benefit of such rapid communication; if we recollect that the discovery of one truth is a rule and a guide for that of a second, and this again for that of a third, and so on to infinity. A rapid communication curtails, generally speaking, the time devoted to the investigation of truth; it curtails it, because, should we, while in the search of any object, learn that this has already been found, we should naturally pass to other inquiries, without permitting ourselves to waste our time in the study and investigation of what has already been discovered. From this we may easily conclude that a political and philological newspaper, written in modern Greek, and containing not only the most important transactions which agitate the enlightened communities of Europe, but also the passing events of Greece herself, will greatly accelerate the regeneration of Greece. This ephemeral, however, in order to meet the end proposed, ought to be the work of a philosopher, of a man capable of selecting from the European journals such materials as would be useful to the present condition of Greece, and avoid such as may be either useless or injurious. The council of Constantinople can easily render this great and good service to Greece, by transmitting to some literary individual of our nation, who resides either in Vienna or Venice, the necessary means for the publication of such a journal." \*

After a few remarks on the patriarchal election, the venerable man takes leave of the subject under consideration. We need not remark that Dr. Coray's slight hints made little or rather no impression upon the people. It ought to be borne in mind that the evil, at which he had only levelled

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\* The above advice of Coray had its proper effect. Soon after the publication of the work, from which we have translated the above paragraph, a philological journal, under the appropriate title of "*The Literary Mercury*," commenced its operations at Vienna. This journal was conducted by the well known and able Gazes, the very person whom Dr. Coray recommended. Whether the "*Literary Mercury*" was under the immediate patronage of the patriarch, or depended wholly on the exertions of the editor, we have not been able to ascertain. This, however, is entirely unimportant. The *Literary Mercury* was liberally supported, and, like the messenger of Jove, flew "over the sea and boundless earth, and with his magic wand opened the eyes of many a sleepy mortal." The period in which it was established, and the events which transpired, while it continued, are equally interesting and important. The means which achieved the intellectual regeneration of Greece, as well as those which occasioned her political independence, are to be found in its volumes, and as such it cannot fail to be an object of curiosity to the historian and philologist.

his mighty hand, was of a peculiar character, and nothing but peculiar tact and skill could ensure him success. The established government of the country was tyrannical, and of course friendly to ignorance; the whole host of the priests and monks of the Greek church, were, with but a few exceptions, ignorant. The mass of the community superstitious, and the established ceremonies of the church, had long blended themselves with the very vitals of religion. The arm of logic could have no power against such evils, nothing but the scourge of ridicule could put to flight superstition, or at least check its progress and arrest its baneful and contagious influence. The peculiar nature of the case, therefore, compelled Coray to grasp the arm of ridicule, which, be it said to his credit, he used with great moderation.

The first three books of Homer's *Iliad* came successively out of the press in the years 1811-17-18. To each of these books, which were widely circulated throughout the schools of Greece, there was prefixed, by way of preface, a fictitious letter. These letters purported to have been written at Belissos, one of the sixty-four villages of Scio, and the identical spot where it is believed Homer wrote his humorous poems, and addressed to Dr. Coray in Paris. Coray being authorized by the annotator to superintend the publication of the above mentioned books, took the liberty, as he pretends, to prefix to the different books the letters which were addressed to him, and which accompanied the manuscripts from the shores of Scio. This is the garb under which the above mentioned epistles made their appearance before the Greek public. The true state of the matter, however, though it has never been avowed to our knowledge, by the author, is, that Dr. Coray is the commentator of Homer, as well as the author of the letters prefixed to each book.

These letters are in the form of dialogues, and the principal characters are an editor of Homer's *Iliad*—alias Dr. Coray, and a nondescript priest, ycleped Papa-Trechas. The pure and beautiful style of the author, the classic taste which he displays throughout these epistles, and the nature of the composition, reminds a scholar of those days of Greece, when philosophy, unwilling to dazzle the eyes of ignorance, taught her sublime truths under the mask of fiction.

Papa-Trechas, though an imaginary personage, is in every particular true to nature. He is a real ignoramus, and full

of native genius. He is—but let the editor introduce his own ideal Papa-Trechas.

“I associate,” says the annotator in the beginning of his first epistle, “with the minister of Belissos. He boasts, besides his other accomplishments, that in all the island of Scio, no other priest can be found who can read faster than himself any given chapter of the psalms. In the evening service of Christmas-day, he happened to sneeze so violently that he put out the light. When the candle was relighted, calculating the time he had lost by this unlooked for accident, he thought best to skip a whole psalm, and that, the longest, rather than incur the blame of having extended the service beyond the usual time, and the danger of losing his reputation.

“The happy faculty of reading with great rapidity, and the inveterate propensity of the Sciots to bestow satirical nicknames, has probably induced the citizens of Scio to name the pastor of Belissos, Papa-Trechas—‘the running priest,’—and this nickname is so agreeable to the owner, that he never answers when addressed by his proper name.

“Besides, he has performed full sixty-four tours, and, consequently, fancies himself a second Ulysses, and thinks that he differs from the old hero of the Odyssey, in this single fact, viz., that his extensive travels have been made to the different villages of the island, and though he has suffered much, he has never exposed himself to the dangers of the ‘divine deep.’

“A few days ago—this will give you a slight idea of the great benefit he has derived from his travels—an English traveller came to the island for the purpose of making some topographical inquiries respecting Homer’s residence at Belissos. This gentleman was accompanied by two little sons of his. When Papa-Trechas heard them conversing with their father, he asked me with surprise, ‘What language are they speaking?’ The English, I answered. This information had nigh petrified him with astonishment; the head of the modern Ulysses could not comprehend how such young lads could converse in a language totally unknown to him, and he could not refrain from exclaiming ‘The little fellows so young, and yet speak English!’”

Our, or rather Dr. Coray’s Papa-Trechas, though ignorant, is by no means deficient either in moral worth, or in kindness towards the poor and needy; and though uneducated, he is still a friend to men of letters and education.

Excepting his immoderate use of snuff, which, by the by, he relinquished as soon as he learned that neither his compatriot Homer, nor Eustathius, the great commentator of the immortal poet, made use of the delicious herb—he is represented as a man free from vice, and a person whose errors are far more preferable than the prevailing virtues of the half-taught monks.

“This,” says the editor alluding to some irregularities of Papa-Trechas, “was of course very improper; but in this case, it ought to be overlooked, both in consequence of his virtues, as well as his child-like simplicity. He forgot, probably, that his taking snuff or attending to any thing else but to the sacred duties of the liturgy was, to say the least, improper. Much more improper, however, are the actions of those, who, with all their pretensions to education and piety are constantly scandalizing the public with their impudent slanders against all those who either praise or attempt to favor the cause of education in Greece.

“The attention of these half-taught bragadocios being wholly engrossed with the idle ceremonies of religion, they use their utmost to expel philosophy, which is the only efficient method of a good education; they declare that philosophy is opposed to religion, and decry her followers as atheists. Would it not contribute greatly to their happiness as well as to their respectability, if, with their ignorance, they were also blessed with the amiable manners and piety of Papa-Trechas, who has shown that ignorance is an evil less to be deplored than little-learning—that deformed child of ill-managed education?”

The aim of Dr. Coray, in writing these fictitious epistles, being to expose and ridicule the ignorance of those who belonged to the sacred order, and thus render them sensible of their situation, he contrives to put in the hands of his ideal personage—as it doubtless happened to many a living Papa-Trechas—the epistle from which we have quoted the above extracts. Papa-Trechas, perceiving that his whimsical originalities had become an object of public ridicule, and finding that his ignorance was a disgrace to his sacred office, and a stain upon the qualities of his noble nature, addresses the editor, who happened to be in the mansion of the good priest, in the following language :

“You have done wrong, my young friend, yes, you have done wrong, because you have not exposed all my faults, but

satisfied yourself with the narration of two or three follies of mine. It will be very useful to those of the sacred order, who are of the same grade with myself, and more so to those who ordain them, to know that though ignorance, with the common people, is a fault, with the ministers of religion, is an unpardonable disgrace. Can there be any thing more disgraceful, than to pretend to guide the blind when we are equally destitute of sight? To teach the untaught, when we are totally ignorant of the truths contained in the sacred Scriptures, and can scarcely be said to have clear views even of the cardinal duties of our holy office? But how can I alleviate my misery? Shall I curse the day when without due consideration I undertook the arduous duties of a minister, or shall I curse the more inconsiderate personage, who, unable to compare the importance of the office with the inability of the candidate, invested me with the ministerial functions? Tell me, what must I do? \* \* \*

“ ‘Tell me,’ continued Papa-Trechas, ‘what must I do? To give up my office is impossible. I see no other remedy to my misfortunes than the acquisition of the Greek language, and you, my young friend, must be my instructor.’ In order to pacify him, I nodded assent, and immediately his stature assumed its natural size, his complexion recovered its proper hue, and forgetting that he was in a small room, began to skip round and round in a fit of joy.”

Papa-Trechas began the study of the Greek language under the tutorship of his friend, the editor, and in his rapid progress, evinced extraordinary powers of mind. The study of the ancient Greek language, led the minister of Belissos to the perusal of the classics and the sacred Scriptures; and the light of his own reason enabled him to distinguish and compare the spirit of the latter with that of the former. His great admiration for Homer, often leads him to place the authority of the poet side by side with the precepts of St. Paul, but he seldom fails in the proper application of either. Now and then he mistakes Constantine the Great for a contemporary of Socrates, but generally speaking, he steers clear of such chronological blunders. An enthusiast in the cause of education and religion, he can no longer bear the neglect of the former and the abuse of the latter; imbued with the spirit of civil and religious liberty, he can no longer be confined by the trammels of superstition and tyranny, he treats with ridicule the one, and with contempt

the other. He is at once an affectionate husband, and a good citizen, a warm patriot, and an enlightened philosopher.

"My curiosity," says the learned editor, "to hear the correct criticism of Papa-Trechas on distinguished authors, has induced me to recommend to him the dissertations of Epictetus. After he had carefully perused them, I asked him if he was pleased with these as with the conversations of Socrates. 'You know,' said he, 'how much I love my wife. In doing this, I yield to the law of nature, to the precept of our holy religion, to the power of her own virtues, and lastly to the example of Socrates, who was extravagantly fond of his wife. And what a wife! Unworthy to brush even the shoes of my companion. The result of my affection towards her, is to participate in her joys and sorrows, and watch for the protection and safety of my children's mother; but were I to imbibe the spirit of Epictetus's philosophy, I must need remain undisturbed when my wife is grieved, I must listen to her sighs with the ears of a marble statue, and if death should happen to snatch her away, I must satisfy myself with this unfeeling epitaph, 'It is of daily occurrence,' and I will be wiser to leave such philosophy to angels—if angels had wives and children—and follow the philosophy of reason and that of our holy religion—'Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that do weep.'—Rom. xii. 15."

In attributing the misfortunes of Greece to the want of education among the common people, Papa-Trechas remarks, "Education, my son, (I am now convinced of it,) when duly apportioned and distributed throughout the whole nation, becomes a mighty bulwark against the attempts of the unjust and the wicked, and though it often fails to reform them, it at least compels them to *appear good*. Who are the subjects of unjust tyrants? The uneducated; for it is they who neither know nor are able to defend their rights. Whom do the robbers plunder? Those who are not capable of guarding their property. Whom do the impostors inveigle? Those whose ignorance exposes them to the attacks of the deceitful. What nations are overrun with magicians and enchanters? The barbarous," &c. &c.

Papa-Trechas stops not here, he attacks some of the superstitions of the church with as little regard as he does ignorance herself.

"I am not," says Papa-Trechas, "insensible to the charms of interest, but the epistles of St. Paul, which I peruse in this period of my life with great pleasure, have inspired me with a due regard and respect for religion. I am ashamed, yes, my son, I am ashamed to take away the substance of a poor man as a recompense for besprinkling his face with holy water. If I regard it as common water, I surely deceive him by selling to him what he can receive gratis from the ever-flowing fountains of nature. If I regard it as sacred, then surely I treat with contempt holy things."

"With the above before you, my friend," remarks the commentator, "I need not say how much has education benefited the venerable Papa-Trechas, but allow me to inform you of the great effect his education had on the common people of Belissos. While Papa-Trechas remained an ignoramus, the Belissians had their magi and their fortune-tellers; they were accustomed to observe propitious and unpropitious days; and fortunate and unfortunate objects; they used to see apparitions, and vampires, and sometimes witches themselves. Now, my friend—oh, the power of education!—all these contrivances of superstition are daily disappearing before the wise instructions of their minister. That you may know how he proceeds on such occasions, allow me to relate an incident. One of his parishioners, terrified and full of apprehension, was relating to him one day, as something very extraordinary and marvellous, that the dog of his neighbor was howling the whole night. 'Every thing,' remarked the witty Papa-Trechas, 'which follows the established laws of nature, is good, and predicts no ill. The same benign Providence which has endowed you with the power of speech, has also bestowed upon the dog the faculty of howling. It will be indeed an omen of impending danger, should the dog be heard speaking and you howling.'"

We have already exceeded the proper bounds and rights of a critic, in our extracts, and yet we may justly assimilate ourselves to the pedant who thought that a few stones were a sufficient sample of his house. It will be quite impracticable to follow Papa-Trechas through his powerful attacks upon the superstitions of the church, or through his pungent philippics, which are sufficiently seditious to kindle ten rebellions, and entitle him to the stake. It will suffice to say that he found his way in the library of every Greek scholar,



whether at home or abroad ; he was admitted in the presence of bishops, and stole into the closet of the secluded monk ; he amused the careless, and was humored even by those whose dignity and sanctity he treated with disrespect ; and though he occasioned no apparent revolution on the subject of the church, he prepared the minds of the Greeks for the reception of sober truths.

Soon after the appearance of Papa-Trechas, the Greek revolution broke out ; a part of Greece declared herself independent, and Dr. Coray, whose exertions to revolutionize Greece were already crowned with success, added Aristotle's Politics to his Hellenic Library. In his prolegomena, which have long ago been noticed in the periodicals of Europe and America, and which have already been translated into the German language, he gave an epitome of Aristotle's Politics, accompanied with an able essay on the causes which occasioned the decline and fall of the Grecian states, and with a feeling appeal to his countrymen. In the latter he warns his compatriots to guard against those shoals on which the liberties of ancient Greece were wrecked. Before the Greek revolution, circumstances obliged him to use the language of adulation and the mask of fiction, but now that these circumstances were removed, he assumes the authoritative tone of a legislator, and for the first time handles the subjects of the church in a manner which none but he dare assume. His manner and aim will easily be evident by inserting a few heads of his appeal.

“ Since the ministers of the gospel watch over the eternal interests of our souls, and since, in consequence of this care, our religion entitles them to our obedience—Heb. xiii. 17.—it follows that their election demands no less attention than that of our temporary rulers. The candidates for the ministerial office, ought, before they are honored with the apostolic profession, to be severely examined whether they possess those virtues, which are inseparable from this sacred office, and whether they have that education which will enable them to teach the high precepts of religion, and inspire the citizens with such moral sentiment as will advance the civil and religious interest of the state. Ignorant and immoral ministers are sufficient to upset the best constituted government, while on the other hand, an educated and virtuous minister, by reforming the individual members of a community, uproots by degrees the wickedness of the whole

nation. Hitherto we have submitted to the ignorance of our ministers, and have overlooked the conduct of some of them, whose lives differ but little from that of the satraps of our barbarous tyrant. Few of our ministers have troubled themselves with the education of the nation. These, and particularly those who took an active part in the revolution, if the sword of the blood-thirsty tyrant has not put an end to their lives, ought to be invited to take part and advance the interest of this reformation. Most of our ministers have either permitted themselves to be indifferent to the cause of education, or they have boldly and without shame declared their hatred against it. From such sprung those, who, a few years ago, calumniated philosophy, and advised our young men to avoid the schools and lessons of enlightened Europe. From such sprung those, who lately (first secretly and then openly) attacked our gymnasia, and threatened even the lives of the professors. Their indifference or their opposition to the interests of national education, has probably been the cause which occasioned the death of so many innocent ministers and citizens; for had the cause of education, at the very instant when it commenced its operations in Greece, met with the indulgence of the sacred order, and had it called forth the co-operation of the ministers; the educated members of the community would have multiplied to a greater extent; they would have invented a greater number of means to attack the inhuman tyrant and paralyze his bloody hand. Their—but what is the use of further accusations against the sacred order? Were we, the laymen—if you but except a few true friends of Greece—better than the priests? Is not the prophesy, ‘And there shall be like people like priests,’—Hosea iv. 9.—fulfilled? The inhuman yoke of tyranny oppressed and broke the spirits of all, and none could expect from such degenerate souls, those great and noble actions which our despair has accomplished.

“The fruit of this happy revolution ought to be the regeneration of all the nation, and consequently that of our ministers. Here is the way by which this great and important good can be accomplished.—

“1. While Byzantium remains defiled by the throne of the bloody tyrant, liberated Greece need not recognize the patriarch of Constantinople as the head of her church. Our church, like that of the primitive Christians and the Russians, ought to be governed by a synod appointed by

the free votes of the clergy and the laymen. It is the most ridiculous thing imaginable, that the clergy of free and liberated Greece, should obey the orders of a patriarch elected by a tyrant and compelled to worship a tyrant.

"2. Whosoever hereafter should desire to take orders of whatever grade he pleases, ought to be elected by the synod of the city, and also by the people or the rulers of the people. As it regards the qualifications of the candidates, I refer them to the counsels of St. Paul on this subject. 1 Tim. iii. 1—8; Tit. i. 5—10.

"3. No individual ought to be elected if he is not conversant with the ancient Greek language. The present condition of the system of education renders it necessary to confine ourselves within these limits. Our gymnasia, besides the existing confusion and consequent cessation of operations, have not as yet reached that desirable state of perfection which will put within the reach of their professors the means of teaching our citizens, and particularly our ministers, the useful arts and sciences. We must therefore confine ourselves to the simple requisition of the ancient Greek language. This, however, must be indispensable, otherwise we run the risk of being thought more foolish than our senseless masters. If then Ulemas know to a man the language in which their pseudo-koran is written, is it not ridiculous—to say nothing harsher—for us to admit for teachers of the sacred gospel, those who are ignorant of the language in which the holy book is written? But when we shall have been fortunate enough to establish, in our literary institutions, professorships of all the sciences, then something more than the knowledge of the ancient Greek language ought to be required. It ought, therefore, to be understood by the public, that this moderate demand shall have ceased at the expiration of ten years. After the lapse of ten years, no one who has not studied in some of our gymnasia, ecclesiastical history, logic, and particularly moral philosophy, ought to be admitted as a candidate. Besides the above requisitions, he ought to be well versed in the Latin and Hebrew languages. The one necessary for the perusal of those fathers who wrote in Latin, the other for the purpose of reading the Old Testament in the original.

"4. All settled fees and perquisites, which the ministers and bishops were wont to receive from the Christians as a recompense for particular services, must be immediately

abolished; and instead of these, the *actual* ministers of religion in the different cities, ought to be paid from the public treasury; it is in direct opposition to the dictates of our religion, that the soldiers of Christ, as St. Paul calls them, should become merchants, and the sacred temples turn to dens of merchants. 'No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.'—2 Tim. ii. 4.

"5. The age of ministers demands the attention of the law. Aristotle ordained that the ministers of their false gods, should be old men, and Plato requires them to be sixty years old. The true religion of the Christians has been no less provident in this particular—the ministers of the primitive church were called presbyters, (as they are called to this day by the western Christians,) because they were in fact old men. We call our rulers old and elders, because the rulers ought to be of this age, and ought to have the prudence which belongs to this age. Those, whose upright and virtuous life, entitles them to the sacred office of ministers, would be much more revered when their age also claims the due confidence of their citizens. The office of confessor ought never to be intrusted to the hands of a man who has not reached the sixtieth year of his life,\* and this if for nothing else, at least for that blameless character which St. Paul—1 Tim. iii. 2, and Tit. i. 7—requires from the candidates for the sacred office.

"6. For the same reason it would be proper that those who are about to receive the sacred office should belong to the class of married men, and not to that of monks. The licensed monks are fit for serving in churches belonging to monasteries; in cities, among married people, a married minister has a better title, since he is a member of the civil community, and apt to be more alive to the wants and interests of his fellow-citizens.

"7. What though the ministers are citizens, this need not entitle them to political offices, nor subject them to the duties of common citizens. On the contrary, they ought to avoid political distinctions, as they would the snares of Satan. Appointed to watch over the eternal interests of our souls, they have scarcely time and power to perform this arduous duty; how would they be able to do justice to their important and

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\* Will it not be best to intrust it to the hands of those who are already laid in the coffin?

laborious station, should they incur themselves with political duties? It is true they are citizens, but their occupation is of a peculiar character, and altogether different from civil occupations. They would be sufficiently useful to their country, should they confine themselves to the paramount duty of elevating the moral character of their citizens, by precept as well as by example.

"8. The number of the ministers ought to be proportionate to the inhabitants of the place, and the number of the churches—which ought to be neither too numerous nor too costly. History informs us that with the immoderate increase of ministers, and the magnificence of churches, the due reverence to religion decreased. The renowned and magnificent temple of St. Peter, is in Rome, where the church is governed by a person, who, in opposition to the precepts of Christ—John xvii. 36.—has united—what a monstrous union!—to his sacerdotal office, temporal power. The no less renowned and splendid edifice of St. Paul's, is in London, where the English bishops, contrary to the precepts of St. Paul—1 Tim. vi. 5—11.—are as wealthy as Cræsus. Such misfortunes, or rather evils, are more to be lamented, inasmuch as their correction has become almost impossible. Free, as yet, from such incumbrances, and fully aware how much they have injured us when we had them, let us beware, on the outset, how we introduce them again into our political system. As we appoint no greater number of rulers than are necessary to conduct the affairs of the public, and as we erect neither larger nor greater number of courts than are sufficient to contain the assembled officers, so in religious matters, let us not have either ministers or churches more than necessity demands.

"I would desire, and wish were it in my power to order, that each city, and particularly, that what is destined to be the seat of the legislative body of the nation, should have one distinguished church. What church? Let it not appear ridiculous to my reader, if I should answer, a temple of justice, bearing on its vestibule this short inscription, 'for the righteous Lord loveth righteousness.'—Psalm xi. 7. Justice is one of the inseparable and peculiar attributes of the Most High, as well as wisdom and all his other perfections; but neither the Old nor the New Testament bestows upon God any of the above epithets, more often than that of justice. To teach us probably that justice, which is the

mother of peace, is also the fountain of virtue, and that through this, will a citizen live peacefully in this life, and cherish a good hope for that which is to come. A good citizen, therefore, ought always to revere justice, and if at any time, he should be tempted to injure his fellow-citizen, let him, as though he were pursued by the evil and wild demon injustice, betake himself to the sacred temple of justice, and there let him kneel before God, and beg fervently to be saved from such impious tyranny. In this temple, should the legislators of the nation hear the religious services, before they enter the senate hall; and in this, should the judges take their oath before they have taken their seats on the bench. The necessity of such a temple extends itself to other civil actions, which I omit for the sake of brevity. I will, however, add, for those who might be inclined to marvel at what I have said respecting the temple of justice, that the habit of seeing and praying in such a temple has greater power to withdraw a citizen from unjust actions, than the fear of the laws. The power of habit softens by degrees our souls, and by continual action moulds them as though they were made of wax.

“All the world knows, either by report or actual observation, the temple of St. ‘Sophia,’ which is still polluted by the impious prayers of the barbarians; but probably few are those who know that Justinian, in order to erect this expensive and magnificent temple, curtailed, contrary to the dictates of justice, the supports of the schools and the salaries of the professors. If this unfortunate—what else can I call him?—emperor, took it into his head to honor the wisdom of God with the foolishness of his nation—why shall we not appear more pious, and more sensible than Justinian, should we erect, without injuring others, a temple of justice, with a view of having before our eyes an ever-present monitor of our conduct towards one another?

“While on the subject of religion and its ministers, it may not be irrelevant to say a few words in reference to those systems of religion which branch out of Christianity—as well as in regard to those which are in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel. The irreligion which prevails to-day, throughout all the enlightened nations, is well known; but the mutual persecutions for difference in religious opinions, which once were considered as the pious deeds of zealots, are now laughed at as the ferocious acts of maniacs. One persecutor

of every religion remains yet in Europe—this is the tyrant of Greece. He is as savage as the religion, of which he is called the kalif, is the most false of all the false religions. We, who are the children of the true religion, and the followers of Christ, ought to exhibit that mildness of which He is the pattern—not only towards the different systems of Christianity, but even towards the religion of our tyrants, should they submit to the same laws with ourselves.

“The mildness and forbearance due to other religions need not degenerate into indifference to the interests of our own. While we ought to renounce persecution, as we would injustice, we ought to beware lest we suffer it ourselves. Of all the religious systems no one will dare at present to persecute us openly; we ought to know, however, that there are secret persecutions, one of which is particularly practised by the missionaries of the Pope. These followers of the Roman church, often lead astray our ignorant brethren, and catechize them in the Roman creed, with greater zeal than if the proselyte had been a Turk. The mania of these missionaries ought the more to be feared, since they inspire their proselytes with a most implacable hatred against the rest of the Greeks. Some of the islanders, as soon as they are entangled in the nets of the Capuchins, as soon as they have heard a Latin mass, think—poor wretches!—that they cease to be Greeks, and prefer the name of children of Rome, to that of sons of Greece.

“Leaving, therefore, to all, the liberty of obeying the dictates of their conscience in religious matters, our laws ought not to permit any one to lead away our fellow-Christians, or separate them from the body of our church. Whatever missionary of the Pope will dare hereafter to ensnare any member of the Eastern church, and induce him to join that of Rome, ought to be expelled Greece forthwith, and without much ceremony. We would promise to give them as little trouble, now that we are independent, as we did while under the yoke of Turkey, and, moreover, we would offer them the protection of our civil laws, and would protect them from the injustice of the Turks, from which neither their consuls, nor their ambassadors were able to defend them. We have a right, however, to expect from them all that a stranger owes to a native citizen. We would permit all those of our brethren whom they have drawn within the pale of the Western church, to be the spiritual children of the Pope, without

ceasing to consider them as brethren and citizens. Let the ministers of the Roman church regard them as their spiritual children—but let them recollect, in conformity with their duty to our laws, that they belong to the political body of Greece, and this being the case, they ought to be taught, not what will benefit Rome, but what will advance the interest of Greece.

“This also demands our consideration. The missionaries of Rome are many, and they are divided into many and different orders, distinct from each other. These different orders, notwithstanding the injuries to which they were liable from the party of our tyrants, have never ceased to wander over Asiatic and European Greece; it is very probable that now, attracted by the happiness of liberated Greece, as well as by the hope of a richer harvest, and deprived, in consequence of political changes, of their monasteries and wealth; it is probable, I say, that they will rush upon us, as upon a new field of supports. Will it be wise, will it be politic, to suffer such a cloud of monks to tax Greece, while we have so many of our own? Will it be wise to open the gates of Greece, to all their orders, and suffer our country to be overloaded by their churches and their monasteries, and that too at a time, when their religious establishments are abolished in their own home, and their wealth, accumulated by the folly of Christians gone by, transferred to the interests of their country? Wisdom indeed bids us anticipate these evils, that might arise in consequence of our neglect; and common sense commands us to keep off these locust-like monks from the labors of our farmers, to preserve our church free from foreign religious notions, and our political institutions from misfortunes that might shake their newly erected foundations.

“Let them watch over the interests of their religion, while amongst us, as they would while in their own country. Let them be protected by our own laws, and let them keep all their religious establishments already acquired in the shores of Greece. Hereafter, however, no monasteries ought to be erected; and if the children of Rome stand in need of a new church, this also ought not to be permitted, without the sanction of the Greek government. The Greek government, after it shall have discovered that the number of Catholics—be they in a city or island—is so great that they stand in need of a new church, ought to exhibit towards them that justice which it owes to all.



"The number of Catholic monks ought to be proportionate to the number of their churches and their followers; the surplus must return to the monasteries and churches of their own country, except in the case where any of them, throwing off the monastic habit, should employ himself in cultivating the Grecian fields, or adopt some other honorable occupation for his support. Who can complain for subjecting them to what we would justly subject our own monks; our government cannot suffer either a stranger, or a native, to live in indolence. It does not hinder any one, however, from becoming a monastic instead of a gregarious animal. He must lead, however, a life consonant to his pretensions; he must shut himself up in some monastery, and must not revel in the cities—an idler living on the pains of the industrious, and disgracing his office. The apostles have emphatically declared themselves against such a conduct, and have expressly condemned an indolent life.—2 Thess. iii. 8—12.\*

"I have said that the western church has many and various orders of monks. It is our duty to see which of these orders ought to be intrusted with the religious care of our Catholic brethren, and which of them ought to be excluded. Suffice it at present to put our veto against one—the order of the Jesuits—the European princes have long abolished, and with the *sanction* and *approbation* of the Pope; expelled the Jesuits, as an order *inadmissible by its very nature in any state* (inadmissible par sa nature dans tout Etatpolici.)—I will not add the many, and terrific things written against the Jesuits, upon whom report ascribed for their last exploit—the poisoning of the Pope who abolished their order. I say, I will not add all that has been said against the Jesuits, because the few words contained in the above parenthesis, are sufficient to show whether it would be proper to admit such an order of monks, in the very infancy of our political institutions. This abolished order of the Jesuits, has lately had the impudence to raise its beaten head—enter openly,

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\* "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labor and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy bodies. Now them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread."

wherever it could, and thrust itself wherever it could not, under the new name of Fathers of Faith—*Patres de la foi*. The difficulty which they meet on the part of those who belong to the same religion with themselves, and the hope of accomplishing among the independent Greeks, what they could not bring to pass among the oppressed, will compel and induce them to burst like a torrent upon the shores of Greece. If the wise autocrat of Russia, who could easily restrain their madness, thought best to expel them from his dominions, and thus free himself from the apprehension of their ever corrupting his subjects; is it not incumbent upon us, who have hardly been able to put in order our political fabric, to keep aloof every thing which might tend to disturb the good order of the state? These Jesuits—whether they are called Fathers of the Faith, or lurk under any monastic garb, must not be admitted into Greece.”

It may not be superfluous to remark, for those of our readers who may not be intimately acquainted with the true state of Greece, previous to the revolution of 1821, that the above observations of Dr. Coray, which seem to have the appearance of preventative measures, are in fact, levelled at existing abuses. Notwithstanding that Greece had declared herself free and independent of Turkey, and had already set in defiance the authority of sultan Mahmoud, her children, as though they were under the spell of infatuation, still continued to regard the authority of the patriarch. Yes! while her civil institutions were regulated by her sons, her church was permitted to be swayed by the sceptre of a person, who was at the best, a tool of her former tyrant. The patriarch of Constantinople, is virtually elected by the council of bishops, but in fact, he is appointed by the sublime porte.\* Hence

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\* Genadius Scholarius, was the first patriarch, who was elected by Mohammed II., after the capture of Constantinople, and endowed with privileges more consonant to the spirit of the Koran, than the Gospel, and bought by dint of money, rather than merit. “The patriarchal treasury, which is called, *par excellence*, the common treasury, pays to the imperial revenue, an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand Turkish piastres. This annual tribute, which is paid under the soft name of a *present*, is given from the patriarch, and all the archbishops who reside in the Turkish empire. In lieu of this general tribute, the high clergy are by law exempted from the tax of capitation, which is paid to the porte by the subjects of the empire. The bishops, however, are not exempted from this tax, except when they reside in their diocess; for they are always subject to it whenever they please to stay in Constantinople. The patriarchal treasury forms a sort of bank, wherein people deposit great sums of money, at interest; the

the fountain whence emanate all the ecclesiastical offices, may be traced to the Turkish divan; and this may account for the sad fact that every ignoramus—nay, every fool! if he only has money and Turkish influence, may rise to the highest ecclesiastical office. But the evil does not stop here; the patriarch, in order to answer the enormous demands of the sultan and his divan, tyrannized over the bishops; the bishops, anxious to satisfy the calls of the patriarch and his synod, behaved like so many uncircumcised Janissaries towards the priests and monks of every order; and the priests and monks, like so many respectable beggars, preyed upon the vitals of their spiritual children. These multifarious demands gave rise to heavy fees, and numerous perquisites; to the enormous increase of churches\* and monasteries, and to the observance of holidays, which amounted to nearly two thirds

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government borrows sometimes from this bank, and the Turks themselves often place their money at interest in this bank, as the most safe place.

A certain class of civil affairs belong to the jurisdiction of the patriarch; these are the contracts of marriage and divorce, legacies and testaments, larcenies and crimes of little importance. In general, in order to avoid the summary process of the Turkish tribunal, and the arbitrary sentences of the Viziers, they have recourse to the mediation of the patriarch. The patriarch takes cognizance of differences existing between Greeks and Greeks, Greeks and Armenians, and even between Greeks and Turks.

The patriarch holds in his palace a court of justice, which is composed of his secular clergy; the sentence pronounced in this court is recognized as valid even when the process takes place between a Turk and a Greek.

When the patriarch wishes to banish a Christian, he addresses, by his agent, a petition to the porte, and demands the firman of exile. The porte grants it immediately; none of the patriarchal requests remain unnoticed; if the contrary arrives, it is the sign for a second petition.

The patriarch has a prison, in which he condemns Christian delinquents—be they clergy or laymen. He has the right of despatching them to the bagnio without even informing the porte—which never pretends to set at liberty a person condemned by the patriarch.

Whenever any Christian charged with some crime, is pleased to declare openly, while conducted to the public prison by the officers of the police, that he desired to embrace Islamism, he would, forthwith, be delivered and conducted before some tribunal, or before the porte itself to receive the turban. But the Christians, whom the Janissaries of the patriarch, conducted to exile or to the prison, though they might manifest on the way to their utmost, their wish to become Mohammedans, no one dares wrest them from the hands of the Janissaries.

In fine, the patriarch enjoys the paramount privilege of riding on horseback in the streets of Constantinople. On such occasions, he is preceded by two Janissaries, and surrounded by a dozen of priests and deacons.—*Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne.*

\* It is impossible to give a correct idea of the excess to which the Greeks went in this particular. Not only the most distinguished cities, but even the most insignificant villages were absolutely crowded with churches. "I ought not to forget that Belissos, whose territory is as limited as its population (six hundred souls) possesses as yet seventeen churches, though most of its inhabitants are beggars by profession."—*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, p. 216.

of the year, and which enriched the monks and priests, but impoverished the laboring class of the people. The greatest of all misfortunes, however, is the progress of the Roman church in Greece. Its convents, as well as its monks, increased the misfortunes of the country, but neither of them is of any importance, when compared with the spirit which its missionaries inspired in the bosom of their proselytes; this is of such a nature, and of so implacable a character, that it had the direct tendency to withdraw them from the church, and destroy the only bond of union. Such have been, and such, with more or less asperity, continue to be, the evils and misfortunes of Greece. The present government of that long afflicted land, will, it is hoped, succeed to cut asunder the bands which fastens the church of liberated Greece to the throne of Turkey. Should it succeed in this, there is little doubt, that the proper election of the ministers of the nation, will engage its attention. When the ministers of the Greek nation, shall be enlightened men, then there will be little or no difficulty in freeing and purifying the church from all the paraphernalia of superstition, and the errors of the dark ages, which deface its beauty and simplicity.

Had it not been that we have already exceeded the limits which we proposed to ourselves, when we commenced the above article, we would have expatiated on the subject of freeing the Greek church from those superstitions which seem to be inherent in its present constitution, and which subject is treated in the prolegomena of Dr. Coray's "*Vade Mecum*;" as it is, however, we must leave this to some future opportunity.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIETY.

IN this generation there are few subjects that excite more attention, or that call forth more plans, than that which we have placed at the head of this article. We propose, therefore, to call the attention of our readers to a few suggestions on the organization of society; or to show that the means for

its advancement are as ample as benevolence can desire, or that there are greater facilities for doing good in this world, than there are for doing permanent evil.

We are aware how much this sentiment differs from the common impression of both good and bad men. It has been for the interest of evil men to perpetuate the opinion that they have peculiar facilities for their plans; that the course of events here coincides with their designs; and that the "stars in their courses fight" for them. And with equal zeal they have endeavored to keep up the impression that the order of the world is against the designs of goodness; that the plans of benevolence oppose the current of the whole arrangement of things here; that the friends of virtue and religion are a feeble, unarmed, unprotected band, and that all efforts for ameliorating the condition of man, must soon die away by some internal principle of decay, or be overthrown by the rush of their mightier foes. It will conduce to our design to state the cause of this impression.

It results from a superficial view of the past. We look back on other times. Some splendid deed of iniquity stands forth in bold relief, and is all that attracts the eye. Or the desolating career of some mighty warrior; the movements of some blood-stained banner, and the burning and sack of towns, are perhaps all that we discern in the records of an entire age. The name of Cæsar, or Alexander; of Attila, or Timour Beck—scourges of God—is all that we see.—By these deeds the mind is arrested, fixed, amazed. They fill all the field of vision. Now these are just the things to strike the attention of men. These are the names which are given in "charge to the sweet lyre, and with which the historic muse has travelled down to later times." Deeds of goodness are in an humble vale, and are unrecorded and unsung. We have the record of the tempest that raged, and of the torrent that swept over hill and vale, and whelmed cities and towns in ruin. But the dews of the morning fall unobserved. The gentle rivulet flows unnoticed. The desolations of the one attract the eye, appall, and alarm us. The silent flow of the other, however rich in its blessings, is deemed worthy of no record, and is forgotten. Could an impartial record of the past be made, it might greatly reverse the estimate which we have of the former state of things in our world.

Again we see some splendid genius of iniquity arise, and

a state of things for conquest, and evil seems formed at his hand. He comes amid conflicting elements, and the world appears to be just in a state to bear him to deeds of splendid triumph and of blood. He rides upon the whirlwind of revolution, and soon is seated on the throne of empire, vacated by the last of a long line of princes.—Virtue on the other hand seems to toil in a humble vail. It is dishonored and despised. Its home is the cottage. Its clothing rags. The world appears to be in array against it; and the order of events seems to doom it to penury and to tears. And we almost instinctively ask, is not the order of events in this world favorable to crime, and is there not a superincumbent pressure, designed to subjugate virtue to poverty and to woe?

Preparatory to showing that it is *not* so, we may vary the illustration already used. We have as yet perhaps seen but *one aspect* of the torrent that amazed us. The tempest rages, and the torrent sweeps by and it is gone. It has made a path of desolation; it has swept over fields and hamlets—but what *permanent* effects have resulted from it? Those fields soon again became fertile. Those towns are rebuilt, and swarm with a happy population; and the *history* is all the memorial you have of the deed. But how is it with the dew and the silvery stream? Do they thus soon cease their influences? The one falls, and the other flows from age to age, silent, unobtrusive, lovely. So it is with the actions of men. Where are now the memorials of the life of Cæsar, or Alexander? In history alone. Blot out the record, and the world is perhaps as it would have been had they not lived. The monuments of their victories, have long since fallen down. The towns which they fired, have long since been rebuilt. The fields which they desolated, are as fertile as before. Nay, a single generation has almost obliterated the traces made in the career of that mighty spirit, whose movements a few years since alarmed the world. The fields which he desolated are again fertile; the landmarks of empire were not permanently removed by Napoleon; and the nations which he subjugated are as free as they were before. But how is it with the lives of such men as Paul, and John, and Howard, and Edwards, and Whitefield—men devoted to bless, as the others were to curse the world. They live in the peace of religion, and the progress of virtue, spreading over the world. When shall the influ-

ence of their lives die away? And where shall be the limit of their doings? When the last spirit on earth shall be ransomed by the influence of truth; and when the gospel of God shall have thrown itself like living light all around the world. Nay, not then. Amid that holy throng that shall join in the hosannas of the blessed, the influence of their toils shall be felt forever, and forever.

There is an order of things in the world, fallen as it is, that is favorable to virtue, and to the final triumph of religion. If we may so convey our idea, it is the *under current*, not seen perhaps, and noiseless, while the waves may swell with might and terror dashing in a different direction. Yet the under swell shall bear on all the great mass of tumultuous billows, as well as the deep waters beneath in its own direction. We know that man is fallen. We know that his mighty powers are in ruins. And we know that all attempts to do good shall encounter the opposing force of human talents under the control of a mighty principle of evil. We know that this opposition shall be made by the malignity of the heart, in each individual, and often by the mighty, and far more formidable opposition of confederated evil doers. Crime has sought to gain its ascendancy by alliance; and millions of human hearts, and hands, and pens, and tongues, are allied in the work of resisting God and his plans. We are disposed to admit, in their substantial features, the most humiliating accounts of human depravity which have been presented in the histories of Hume, and Gibbon; in the writings of Volney, and Rousseau; in the characters of human nature drawn by Shakespeare, and even by Byron. These men, though they designed it not, have given substantially the same views of man which are presented in the Bible. The difference is, that some of them have done it with bitter feelings of misanthropy; the Bible, as a sober record of the fact, but with entire benevolence. The one has done it as with the stiletto, and with the dark designs of the assassin—exemplifying the same depravity which they portray in others—the other has done it with the probe of the surgeon, piercing not to produce pains but to promote health; laying open the wound, not to leave it lacerated and bleeding as infidelity does, but to purify it, to bind it up, and to send health through the frame.

But still we maintain that amid this wreck of things; this painful and sad resistance to virtue and to God, there is dis-

cernible among human affairs, a course of events favorable to virtue and religion, and unfavorable to infidelity and vice. When we contemplate the guilt of men, and the evil tendencies of the world, we are looking at the *wreck* of things, and not at their original structure. We pass along the shore, and behold the shattered fragments of vessels lying on the beach, and form our estimate from *those* fragments, without lifting up our eyes to the broad ocean to see what was the design of its creation. We forget that the natural tendency of things is not to produce *shipwreck*; that we are not to judge of the proper influence of the winds and waves by those melancholy results of storms and tempests. When we walk through an infected district, and see the dying and the dead stretched before us, we are not to infer that the tendency of the sunbeams, and the sky is to produce pestilence. The original formation of that sun, and of that atmosphere is to promote purity. They are favorable to health and life. And we are looking at the effects of some cause which has come in to counteract their ordinary tendency, and to produce irregularity and wo. So to limited views, the course of things in this world may seem to favor vice and crime. We look at the prevalence, and disasters of sin. We see the wicked in great power and spreading himself like a green bay tree. We see virtue in an humble vale, poor, oppressed, resisted, despised. We see some towering scheme of crime rise and prosper, and the nations are amazed; while humble schemes of education and benevolence seem to toil, and pant almost for life, breasting the opposition of the world. And we come to the hasty conclusion that this is the tendency of things. We forget that great original constitution of the world; those elements of human things, designed to bring virtue out, and establish it triumphant over every obstacle. That tendency is to make the *temperate*, not the intemperate man happy; to diffuse peace and bliss through the family of the chaste and the pure, not of the impure; to make the industrious man weakhy and useful, not the indolent and vicious; to make the virtuous city or people prosperous, not the people luxurious and effeminate. It is to give the virtuous man access to the confidence and esteem of his fellow-men—itself alone of more value than all the gold which avarice and crime ever hoarded, or than all the diadems that ever encompassed the brows of guilty royalty. The tendency is to foster the improvements which go to



advance the interests of society, to give permanent and wide influence to those designs which tend to abridge human toil, and to meliorate the condition of prisons, and dungeons; of the captive, and of the ignorant. The affirmation is, that the tendency of things is to bring out and place before human use, on the largest scale, every thing which is fitted yet to raise society to the highest possible elevation.

In illustrating this position we have only to recall to our recollection a few well established facts.—One is, that there is not the slightest evidence that any thing truly valuable to society has ever been lost. Amidst all the fluctuations of human events, the fall of empires, and the acknowledged relapse of many nations from a state of considerable advancement back to barbarism, there is no reason to suppose that *any thing* that would contribute materially to human welfare has ever been permanently lost. This fact is as completely established as any thing can be. We are morally certain that there never has been obliterated from the memory of man any thing that can be compared to what *would* be the destruction of the use of iron, or of the steam-engine, or of the cotton-gin, or of the art of printing. The only things among the ancients that seem to have been lost to mankind, of which we have any knowledge, have been the celebrated Greek-fire, and perhaps the art of sculpture. Ignorant as we are of the nature of the first, we are yet certain that its *utility* was extremely limited; that its utmost use was in time of war; and that even then its utility must have been extremely confined, compared with the use of gunpowder. That its recovery would contribute to the advancement of society now, in any sensible degree, is what would not probably be maintained by the most bigoted antiquarian. In regard to the art of sculpture, we may observe, that its utility to the advancement of society must have been extremely limited. That it would contribute to the promotion of public knowledge or morals, can hardly be pretended. The record of a deed in a book that should be read by a nation, or even in a newspaper, might accomplish a far wider effect than all the art of Phidias or Praxitiles. No art of the sculptor could contribute materially to the influence of the name of Washington. The little biography of that man that has been published by the Sunday School Union, shall accomplish many hundreds of times the effect of imbedding his precepts and his deeds in the minds of future generations,

than will be accomplished by the statue of Canova in the state-house of Boston. And without designing to speak with contempt of the art of the statuary or painter, we may observe that Whitney has contributed more by the cotton-gin to the advancement of the wealth and prosperity of this country, than was done for Greece by all her genius in sculpture; and that he who contributes to the improvement of a printing-press, or steam-engine, really does more for the welfare of society, than all that genius, exercised on blocks of marble, can ever effect.

When we tread the recovered streets, and sit down in the long vacated halls and palaces of Herculaneum and Pompeii, we find no evidence that society has lost any thing truly valuable since they were overthrown. We see no proof that the long lapse of the darkness of the middle ages has removed any thing of utility from the family of man. Nothing is discovered, as those dwelling-places of distant generations are brought to view, that would promote their comfort, which we have not now; nothing whose use is unknown; nothing which can *now* be applied in advance of us to carry forward the interests of man. The same is true whatever monuments of antiquity are laid open to view. When Belzoni by indefatigable toil had entered the pyramids; when he had accomplished what the curiosity of man had long in vain panted to achieve; he laid open to human view no more than *he* does who digs into the *tumuli* on the banks of the Ohio, or the Tennessee. He may find dead men's bones; he enters the monuments of departed generations; but he lays open to view not one solitary thing that can be supposed to have contributed to the welfare of man, which was buried with that unknown age.

Another well established fact is, that all valuable improvements and inventions attach themselves to society so firmly that they cannot be removed. Such is the constitution of things. Let a valuable discovery be made—one that tends manifestly to human comfort and improvement—and it becomes sooner or later the inheritance of the *race*. It will work its way, and fasten itself by innumerable hooks and cords, and intertextures, to society. Nor is there any condition of darkness or approximating barbarism, that can remove it from the world. Society thus in its progress resembles a stream that bears ever on its bosom that which shall fertilize and bless. It collects and preserves in its advances

all that shall go to meliorate the human condition. It may be that many attempts have been abortive; it may be that thousands of *inventions* may have been laid aside as useless or noxious, where one has been found of real utility; yet while the thousand may be forgotten, the *one* shall be more than a compensation for all the toil and care bestowed on the whole. He that should look through the department of state, and contemplate the depository of *patent* inventions, might be conscious of a feeling of melancholy, as his eye wandered over the numberless models of machines that are deposited there to be the objects of *contemplation* alone, but not of utility. He might reflect on the days and nights of anxious solicitude that these machines have cost; on the visions of wealth and fame which danced before the minds of the inventors; on the changes which the machine underwent before it assumed a form satisfactory to the discoverers; on the feelings of exultation with which the machine was deposited there, and the triumph with which it was announced to mankind—and on the utter prostration of these hopes when it came to be actually applied to use. This he would say, perhaps, is the fruit of all this ingenuity; and this is no bad specimen of the inventions of men every where. This is an epitome of the improvements of the world.—And it would be so. If, now—amidst these specimens of wasted ingenuity, these monuments of ruined hopes, and in many cases of absolute folly—he should cast his eye on the cotton-gin of Whitney, or on a model of a safety-lamp like that of Sir Humphrey Davy, or on the model of the first printing-press—unostentatious as might be the model, he would have contemplated, at a single glance, that which was indubitably worth more than all the time and genius expended on the whole; that which to society should be far more than a compensation for all the anxiety, and toil, and weariness exhausted on the whole array of inventions reposing in useless ostentation before him. Society having gained these, might afford to lose the rest; but these are *not* to be lost. They take hold on the civil organization. They become the property of man. And when we contemplate *future* times, we look at them with the utmost certainty, that, unless superadded by something still in advance, the safety-lamp, the printing-press, the cotton-gin, the steam-engine, will be there. We may calculate with the utmost certainty that there is at *least* so much gained for the advancement of the human

condition. They belong to the race. It is morally certain that they *cannot* be destroyed. Had the Greek-fire been any thing in value like the steam-engine, the knowledge of it would never have been lost. Had the art of sculpture any thing in it that tended to the advance of society in any degree comparable to the art of printing, the names of Phidias and Praxitiles would not be unrivalled. We should see specimens of that art arise superior to all that antiquity ever saw. The genius which now finds vent in more useful employments, *could* have been employed in chiseling blocks of marble. By all the superiority of the science of anatomy in modern times, that art could have been cultivated, and that which the ancients *conjectured*, might now come to be reduced to an accurate science from the knowledge of the muscles and veins.

A similar train of remarks might be made respecting the *sciences*. Man has lost nothing valuable ; that which is of use, society retains, augments, adorns. We lay aside that which is useless, we retain a firm grasp of that which may contribute to the advance of society. Thus the race has parted with astrology ; but with the science of astronomy it will never part. Society is bidding farewell to the doctrines of spectres, and to the incantations of necromancers, and the conversers with the dead. With the science of chemistry, it will never part. It has laid aside the search for the elixir of life, and the philosopher's stone. It is turning the powerful agents that once were thus wasted, to bleaching and smelting, and refining, and manufacture of useful or ornamental articles. What was valuable in the science when the Arabian had it, we retain, augment, purify. What was useless, perverted, wicked, society has laid aside. Thus of the entire science of anatomy. Once men practised medicine by conjecture. But can any man believe that the race is ever to lose the knowledge of the circulation of the blood ? Are the established doctrines of the nerves and the muscles to be abandoned ? All these, to use the illustrations of anatomists, become *fixed points* in the movements of society. Henceforward the race *must* advance, with all the advantage of these doctrines as *starting points* in its career.

Mental and legal science would furnish a similar train of remarks. The laws of nations, since the time of Grotius, have been regularly advancing. They are becoming fixed ; and are tending to universal justice, and peace. It would be

easy, we think, to show that the *tendency* of these laws is to put a period to wars, and to unite nations in one great brotherhood. Already the laws of war have undergone modifications that evince the tendency to a universal spread of just principles. Let changes hereafter take place in the laws of nations, and in the views of nations, at all corresponding with what have occurred since the days of the Greeks and the Romans, and wars will have come to an end, and the predicted reign of peace will have occurred every where.

But our purpose is to speak mainly of morals and religion. The purport of our position will be seen by a simple illustration. Here dies—as millions have done—a virtuous, and holy man, whose setting sun goes down under a cloud. In other words, the breath of calumny has passed over his reputation, and poisoned his peace, and he dies suspected, accused, reviled. The curses of many rest upon his grave; and his name, black with supposed guilt, is given to be immortalized in the records of infamy.—Now, our position is, that the order of events in this world, is such as to remove this odium from his memory; to do justice to his character; and to assign him his proper place on the lists of the good; and to make the most yet of his influence and name in the cause of virtue.—Successive days or ages shall remove the stain; and mankind will do justice to him when the mists of suspicion shall be swept away by the hand of time. Justice is thus done to the hosts of the ancient dead; and their names have travelled down to us, to animate the living to persevere in a course of virtue, in spite of calumny and persecution. Thus died many a Grecian sage and patriot, overwhelmed by reproach and ingratitude. But it was not a rare occurrence for those hands that sought their death, to rear to their memory the lofty pillar; or to perpetuate their image, or their name, in the speaking marble, or the solid brass. Who has any doubt now respecting the character of Aristides, and Socrates? Who has any suspicion remaining respecting their virtue? Who doubts the patriotism of Demosthenes, and of Cicero? The impartial pen of history has done them justice; and the returning sense of right in mankind, has done more good in their case to the cause of patriotism and virtue, than could have been ever done by the most prosperous career in their lives. So died hosts of Christian confessors and martyrs, cursed in their death by thousands of tongues, and reviled as the off-scouring of mankind. But the race is

advancing to do justice to their memory. The sentiment of the world has become right in regard to them. They stand now in the past as thick constellations of pure stars, every cloud having passed away, to guide the virtuous, and the pious, in future times, to a like course of Christian integrity. They not only died in peace; but their names ever brightening, shall encourage the friends of virtue and of God, when the names of their murderers, shall have been long since forgotten. The brightest illustration of this remark would be drawn from the life and death of the Son of God. None ever died more calumniated. No name was ever more malignantly cast out as evil. No death ever gave more joy to his enemies. And yet the tendency of things in this world, under the mediatorial government, is to do justice to his character. Every convert to Christianity, adds to the number of those who shall do honor to his name. Many millions of the human family have acknowledged him as their benefactor and Redeemer; and the course of human events is onward to the time, at no very distant period, when *the race* shall come around his cross, and acknowledge him as the Saviour of the world; and when "the universe above, below, around," shall "be filled with" his "praise."

We proceed to introduce another idea to corroborate the position. It will be taken from a fact, not indeed as yet universally conceded, but which it is the tendency of things to bring forth in strong relief, and to universal admission. The fact is this, that if a man wished to make the utmost possible use of his powers, to exert the furthest, deepest, and most lasting influence on the destinies of mankind, he would be a good man. He would consecrate his talents to the cause of virtue and of God.—We know that here we encounter the prejudice which was noticed in the beginning of this article. We see a splendid genius of evil rise, and his name and influence seem to fill the world. Every tongue celebrates his fame; and every bard stands ready to sound his praise, and to embalm his memory. The remark which we now make is, that if the *same* talents were devoted to the cause of virtue, and of God; to the cause of liberty, religion, and human improvement; the influence would be far more deep and permanent than is now the malign and evil influence. To see this, it is necessary to advert only to a few simple illustrations. One is, that no small part of the talent of the world is wasted—utterly wasted. Genius seems to

burn and blaze for nought. Its energies are consumed, without making any permanent impression on the world—like the meteor that flashes along the sky, and then leaves all as dark as before. At any period of the world, there is talent enough for all the purposes of moral improvement, which may be demanded; but it is melancholy to reflect how much of that genius burns for nought, and then sinks in night. No small part of the talent of men employed in the purposes of wickedness, and that might have extended its influence far down the track of ages in an enterprise to do good, wastes itself in some wild and abortive scheme of ambition; in some gigantic, but unsuccessful project of crime and blood; in some useless, and wasted attempt at song; in some quickly-arrested career of vice.

Again;—the faculties of man in a career of sin, soon waste themselves. Vice preys upon the powers, chills their energies, exhausts their vigor, produces torpor, gloom, decay. God never tempered the human frame for the *high pressure* of the exciting passions of drunkenness, of ambition, of luxury. The delicate machine is not adapted to the consuming energies of crime, and lust. Under the influence of exciting passions, the frame of man, like the machine without balance-wheel or governor, hastens to ruin, and tears itself to pieces.—Besides, a life of crime, and vice, cuts off a man's influence on his fellow-men. It lessens confidence, destroys affection, creates suspicion, disgust, and alarm. What a wicked man does over others, he does by the force of money, of power, of fear, of office—influences far less for promoting permanent effects, than confidence, affection, love.—Perverted talent consumes itself like the rapid motion that alarms us, and dies;—talent rightly directed, is like the star that sheds his steady beams from age to age.

Further;—if a man wished to make the most of his powers—to prolong his life and name to the utmost—he would be a good man. He would bring his soul and body under the influence of virtue. If he wished to give all his faculties their fairest proportions, and most prolonged action, he would be temperate, chaste, industrious, just, benevolent. He would call up his powers just where a pure life would dictate; he would restrain the violence of passion; he would silence the voice of raging ambition; he would seek to put out the burning fires of anger, lust, and malice—passions that prey upon, and consume the frame; and he would temper all his

conduct by the laws of benevolence, and of God. The Lord Jesus Christ pursued the very course of life, adapted to produce health, and length of days. It was not miraculous power that kept him from sickness and disease; but it was the regular effect of a life of temperance, and purity.—We ask, in full confirmation of this, when has any profligate ever recommended a life of vice and crime? All have seen and known the value of a life of virtue, temperance, purity; and the voice of the world, as well as of the Bible, has settled it, that if a man wished to make the most of his powers, he would devote them to the cause of virtue—in other words, he would be a righteous man.

A few examples may make this still more clear. Take the case of Howard. Is it possible to conceive that that remarkable man could have done as much permanent evil, as he has done permanent good? Evil he might have done. He was a man of wealth; he might have been an infidel, and a profligate. He might have pursued a distinguished career in his own generation, in corrupting the morals of the young, and extending the reign of profligacy and woe. Nay, more. Though not a man of the most splendid genius, though not fitted perhaps to tread the higher walks of literature, yet he *had* talent, of a certain kind, of a high order; the talent of perseverance, of skill, of indefatigable enterprise. The exhaustless energy, “an energy which the limits of the human mind forbade to be greater, and which the character of the individual forbade to be less”—evinced in exploring the prisons of the world, and bringing hidden depravity to light, *might* in some way, have been employed in filling those prisons and multiplying human woes. But would his influence in evil ever have equalled his influence in goodness? Would his name ever have stood out as effecting decisive changes in the human condition, as it does now? In his own circle and time, Howard might have been known as a profligate. Hundreds of young men might have cursed his existence as their corrupter; and in that generation his influence had died, and his name have been given to contempt and scorn. Howard, as a profligate and a libertine, or a tyrant, could never have sent his name and power around the world, or made it travel down to future generations of men.

Now take another example. Suppose that Byron had sung like Cowper, or Watts. What a change would have



been made at once on the influence of that man. We admit that his influence has been mighty, and yet will be. But is there any man that believes that Byron is to influence as many minds as Cowper and Watts? The mass of men will not love cold misanthropy, or the display of corrupt and malignant passions, or the disgusting details of vice. An increasing number of our race will turn from his sour and gloomy pages, to dwell upon the lovely piety, the sweet simplicity of the renovated heart in Cowper; and to breathe out the language of pure devotion in the delightful strains of Watts. Already more, many more minds have been influenced in the most tender scenes of life by the sweet language of Watts, than have been or will be influenced by Byron. The language of the sacred singer is breathed into our ears in the cradle; it is echoed in the Sunday school, by tens of thousands on each Sabbath day; it warms the devotions of millions in the sanctuary, it is poured forth in the bed of sickness, and it cheers and sustains the soul in the hour of dying. Where the book of the noble bard is laid aside and hated, the sacred singer is welcomed and hailed; and his sweet language expresses the most lofty, and pure feelings of the spirit, even as it bursts away from a world of sin, plumes itself for its eternal flight, and as the last accents of hallelujahs here melt and die away in the anthems of praise eternal in the heavens. We ask whether it was possible for Watts to have done as much evil as he has good?—And when shall the influence of Cowper die? When shall man forget his sweet numbers? Never; no, never. His influence shall be felt far as our native tongue shall be uttered. It shall go down into the advancing and deepening glories of the millennium, when, in his own inimitable language,

“The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks  
Shout to each other; and the mountain tops,  
From distant mountains, shall catch the flying joy,  
Till nation after nation, taught the strain,  
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round.”

There is another instance perhaps still more to our purpose. We allude to that man of which Cowper has said,

“I name thee not, lest so despised a name,  
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame;”

the man

“Whose *Pilgrim* marks the road,  
And guides the *progress* of the soul to God.”

It is probably not saying too much to affirm that "The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come," has already influenced more minds, and done more to form habits of thought, than all the works of Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, Volney, Voltaire, Hobbes, and Shaftesbury put together. These men have spoken to elevated ranks of society, comparatively few in number, and always comparatively unimportant in the estimate of the sum total of human happiness. But for one such man, Bunyan has been the guide of thousands. Infidel books, also are read, not in the moments when men read to mould their character, but in moments of idleness, and leisure, and sin. Bunyan has woven his sentiments into the very texture of life; he speaks in times of temptation and affliction; he is heard in those turning points when the character is formed, and when thoughts fix themselves in the very soul. It is further to be added, that the book of the imprisoned tinker, is one of those great works that are to live when the world shall be Christian, and when the proudest works of infidel genius shall "lose discountenanced, and like folly show." It speaks the language of the heart. It utters the sentiments of renovated man. It is in religion what Shakespeare is in the drama, a book having the character of *universality*. Infidels could no more have written a page of this book, than they could create a world; and when all that they have ever penned shall repose in useless grandeur and neglected pomp, on the shelves of the library, the Pilgrim's Progress shall be extending the sentiments of religion in lands now pagan or unknown, and Bunyan shall be guiding ransomed sinners still to their eternal home. But what we are principally concerned in remarking, is, that it is impossible to conceive that this man should have done as much permanent evil, as he has good. He might have lived an infidel; he might have continued to be a model of profaneness and vulgarity; he might have corrupted a few strolling companions; but in what possible circumstances of evil could this man of profaneness have diffused an evil influence far to other nations, and to the end of time? Another instance: The name of Wilberforce shall soon be known in all the extended plains, and in all the high hills of Africa. His influence shall be felt not only on Britain's isles, but through every vein of empire in the new world. It shall flow again across the Atlantic to a benighted, injured continent. His eloquence shall make

more shackles fall, than the most cruel tyrant with imperial power ever yet riveted on human sinews; and the accents of his philanthropy shall diffuse peace and prosperity through more villages, and towns, and plains, than all the Cæsars ever fired or desolated.

Our next observation is, that such is the constitution of society, that crime comes to a consummation; it meets with something to arrest its progress and to stay its career. There are, in the very stamina of things, obstacles laid that it cannot surmount. But there may be no limit to plans of goodness. The empire of crime and terror has usually been short. Our minds will instantly recur to the obstacles laid in the guilty career of the ancient world; of Sodom, of Babylon, of Thebes. We shall remember guilty Jerusalem; Athens corrupt and effeminate by luxurious indulgence; Rome intoxicated with empire, and weakened, and ruined by crime. We shall remember the horrid deeds of the French revolution, and the obstacles which outraged human nature rose to place in the way of universal desolation. Somewhere in the constitution of society, or in some fearful visitation of Heaven, there shall be placed a barrier to the progress of crime. The most mighty combination shall be stayed; the gigantic plan shall be broken up; the empire of evil shall be reduced to its original elements; and society shall be organized anew. Such has been thus far the history of every mad scheme of vice, and crime. But now suppose, for example, that Sodom, and Babylon, and Rome, had been as virtuous as they were wicked. Suppose those vast combinations and resources had been really for some purpose of human improvement. Suppose that those powers had been called forth to foster industry, to promote education, to extend the influence of peace, and to diffuse the blessings of religion. Suppose the talent called forth in war had been expended in promoting the blessings of peace; the genius that exhausted itself in inventions of human butchery had been employed in designs of promoting the welfare of men; and is there any prospect that there would have been a limit to such endeavors?—We have an illustration in these times. No small part of the talent which in times of war would be called forth to devise plans of conquest, and of blood, is in one land employed in schemes for promoting the welfare of mankind. The result is seen. Institutions have risen which shall throw their influence into advancing ages,

and be perpetuated when the earth shall be filled with light and truth.

All combinations of evil have in them the internal principle of rupture or decay. They are formed like the image seen by the proud monarch of Babylon ; of gold, and brass, and iron, and clay. Discordant and heterogeneous materials are forced into unnatural combination. There is no congeniality—no natural cement—no growing union. Never was a purpose of evil yet formed, animated by any principle of life, or by any assimilating power. The bond of interest unites ; or a scheme of ambition ; or wild and corrupt passions ; or the love of gain. Conflicting passions shall rend it asunder ; or it shall totter and fall by its own weight and internal corruption.

Two illustrations may make this manifest. The one shall be drawn from an attempt to establish *tyranny* over a people. *A single man may be* a tyrant at the head of a nation. He is the depository of his own secrets ; his counsels may be undivided, and undistracted, and he may pursue his design with appetite keen as the grave. Thus Nero, and Caligula, established a short lived tyranny over an empire. But a *combination* or *association* of tyrants could not long exist. The *single* bond of union would be the desire of iniquitous rule. But in such bosoms there would be ten thousand opposing elements, all tending to break up the combination, and reduce it to its elements of anarchy and confusion. There would be individual ambition, and jealousy of power, and suspicion, and hatred, and plots to counteract supposed plots, till the elements of discord should part asunder, and be reduced to native conflict and strife. Hence, Milton has represented the hosts of hell as held together not by any native principle of union, but by the fear of the master spirit who presided over hell, and whose grand principle was,

“ Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.”

But now suppose a purpose of goodness. Let the principle of union be *benevolence*. In such a combination there is no principle of decay, or rupture. Let all the native powers be called forth in this plan. Let all be employed that *can be*—all talents, plans, purposes ; all efforts and schemes ; the accomplishment of each subordinate purpose carries forward the great plan. The labor of the most splendid genius, the

success of the most laborious man, interferes with none of the rights or purposes of the most humble member of the confederacy. He who can give thousands to the object, lays the foundation for no jealousy in her who contributes two mites. Brainerd, and Martyn, bearing the gospel round the globe, and giving their names to immortality, create no jealousy, and excite no envious feelings in him who labors in the Sunday school, and who shall die unknown to fame. Splendid success in any of the departments of beneficence, diffuses joy through all the combinations; and without jealousy, or suspicion, or conflict, the purpose is advanced, and angels and men rejoice that good is done. There are found out the elements of an eternal confederacy, where suspicion, and jealousy, and counterplots are at an end. The union is formed for eternity—not the image of brass, and iron, and clay, but having elemental life, and the principles of eternal preservation.

The second illustration will be drawn from the art of printing. The *press* is the most mighty agent that has ever been employed in this world, rapidly and permanently to effect changes in the minds of men. It has just the power which is necessary—a species of omnipresence—a power of affecting many minds simultaneously, and of bringing thought and plan into immediate contact with many spirits to secure the best of all combinations, the combination of *conviction of understanding and of will*. Now we do not deny that there may be a combination of evil men to use it for pernicious purposes. The authors of the French Encyclopedia thus combined to blot religion from France and the world. Infidels in this land have associated for this purpose, and have not failed in their plan of doing extensive mischief. But the combination which projected the French Encyclopedia soon was dissolved. Associations for using the press in plans of evil soon die away in this land. The question is, not whether a *temporary* combination may be formed to use this power for evil, but can it be made *permanent*? Can it contain the principles of *life*? Can it spread and expand and secure its influence from age to age?—Alliances for using the press for good purposes have become common, and their power is beginning to be felt in all lands. The Bible Society sends the word of God over lands and seas. The Tract Society scatters truth as on the wings of the wind. The Temperance Society finds access to almost every house in the republic,

and millions of pages every month or week, convey the principles of the temperance reformation to all classes of society. But when has infidelity and profligacy, much as they love iniquity, ever projected or sustained any association to be compared in perpetuity and power with the Bible Society, or the Temperance Society? They never have, and they never will. This field is open to virtuous combination alone—open on the principle that it is easier to do permanent good in this world than permanent evil. And, the friends of the Bible, and of God; of charity, and of temperance; may advance to their work with this field as their own. All the advantages of combination are *theirs*. Opposed they may be; stricken and calumniated they may be; but they will not be called to meet any counter-alliances for permanently propagating iniquity. Individual effort will be against them. Combined effort is to be theirs. The friends of righteousness march in embattled phalanx; its foes, though numerous, with irregular, unorganized movements. The hordes of Scythia would annoy any army, and ravage many lands, and fire many towns; but the firm wedge of the Macedonian phalanx, was competent to their ultimate overthrow and defeat.

If asked, why the friends of infidelity and sin *are* not, and *cannot* be organized for permanent evil, we answer in a few words. They really have no *confidence* in their final success. They regard opposition to virtue and to God, as a *temporary* thing, to subserve *their* individual purposes while *they* live, not to make any permanent changes in mankind after *they* are dead. Christianity regards *its* plans as destined to triumph through all the world, and in all time. There is no mighty principle like *benevolence* to bind such an alliance together. *Benevolence* is the only vital principle that can long keep men in union. To this, infidelity is a stranger. No association of men can be permanent where this is not the main spring, and the source of vitality. There is nothing *permanent* in an alliance of infidelity and sin. Interest might lead one man to join it. The desire of revolution and of office another. Spleen or malice another. Personal friendship another. The love of indulgence in sin another. Associations of infidelity when formed, have been *thus* sustained. But these things can be secured without combination, or at all events they are temporary. Spleen, and malice, and vice, can be indulged in without

forming a society. And especially men will not long give their *money* even to vent their malice against the Christian religion. We ask whether all the infidel associations that have been formed, and all that could be formed, would ever *contribute money* enough to circulate Paine's *Age of Reason* to the extent to which Christians have circulated the *Dairyman's Daughter*? To ask this question is to answer it. No. If we want books of infidelity, and vice, we must *buy* them. Infidels and corrupters love their money better than they do even their opinions; and among the most ephemeral and short-lived of all associations in this world, are combinations of infidelity and sin. The church of Christ has lived two thousand years, and is expanding for universal conquest. The strongest combination of infidelity now existing is in the greenness and rawness of its youth—and is already withered, and weakened, and palsied, as if by age.

We add one more remark. God is the protector of alliances and efforts for good. To this he has pledged himself, and in this cause he has stretched out his right arm. He has not merely formed the original constitution of things, which we have been contemplating, but he has in all times shown himself the patron of virtue and holiness. His law demands it, and his providential interpositions are on the side of purity. Let the profligate and the sinner, if he can, point to one single time, or place, where *God* has been the patron of his plans and deeds. But God has not only laid this foundation of things, he has not only appeared as the enemy of sin and the friend of virtue—he has introduced into this world a new organization—a new set of influences expressly designed to counteract evil, and facilitate the purposes of goodness. His Son, the Redeemer of men, has come with a new and original set of influences to recover men from sin. He has introduced the motives and sanctions of redemption, to call men to God. He has sent down his Holy Spirit to suggest plans of beneficence in the hearts of men; to cherish all designs of goodness; to open the way for the advance of truth; to silence the voice of opposition; to break up combinations of evil; to make apostles and friends of the leaders of evil alliances, as he did of Saul of Tarsus, and as he did of Newton, Gardiner, and the earl of Rochester; and to dispose the world to the reception of truth, and of virtue. He has organized the church, a permanent society for this end,

with the power of the pulpit, and the power of its ordinances; and the power of all the combined learning and talent which he may choose to employ for the promotion of his cause. Further still; He has shed light in the prophecies on the future path of man. He has predicted the universal prevalence of religion. He has directed the eye onward to times not far distant, when the combinations for good shall be strengthened more and more, and when combinations for evil, shall wither and fade away. All the world shall yet be combined in the purpose of holiness; and human affairs are shaping themselves to this end. The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it; and many people shall go and say, come let us go up to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. Under this auspicious promise, the friends of God are advancing. The world shall be filled with praise, and the nations be united to obey his law.

"Thus heavenward all things tend. For all were once  
Perfect, and all must be at length restored.  
So God has greatly purposed; who would else  
In his dishonored works, himself endure  
Dishonor, and be wronged without redress.  
Haste then, and wheel away a shattered world,  
Ye slow revolving seasons! we would see  
(A sight to which our eyes are strangers yet)  
A world that does not dread and hate his laws,  
And suffer for its crime."

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### ARTICLE III.

#### REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF ETHICAL SCIENCE.

THAT the Bible furnishes the only true and adequate standard of morality, and that to the principles there developed our ultimate appeal must be made in all questions of right and wrong, is a proposition which none but the hardest infidel will presume to deny. It is, nevertheless, a truth equally undeniable, that, in the life of almost every man,



there is a great variety of actions contemplated, if not performed, whose relation to those principles is so distant and doubtful, that their moral character cannot, without considerable skill in casuistry, be determined. Here, as it seems to us, is the proper province of practical ethics. It lies, indeed, within the great circle of religion, inasmuch as all its principles and provisions are included under it, as different individuals of a species are included under a generic denomination. This, however, is not a perfect illustration; for, while religion contemplates the lines of human conduct as palpably converging in the will of the Deity, as a common and luminous centre throwing a clear radiance over the whole—morality contemplates them rather as lying in the twilight of a great distance from that centre, and running often in an uncertain direction. The former points out primarily the relations of man to his Maker; the latter, the relations of man to man; together with the duties growing out of them respectively. The one, if we may be allowed so harsh a figure, discovers those orbits of duty which sweep plainly and regularly around the grand centre of light and attraction; the other, the paths of the satellites which, in a course less obvious and apparently less certain, wait on primaries of their own, and are carried only with them around the same central luminary.

It is manifestly the design of revelation, to throw light upon the field of human feeling and action mainly, as connected with the purposes of religion; although in doing so, no feeble rays have been scattered upon a thousand points belonging appropriately to the province of morality. Yet these are only like the illuminated mountain-tops when the sun is beneath the horizon; and their comparatively dim reflection affords a very imperfect guide to those who are moving in the low walks of ordinary life. There are principles, it is true, unfolded in the Bible, and principles perfectly coincident with conscience, sufficiently broad and clear to guide us, if properly drawn out and illustrated, in all the diversifications of human life and action. Let us not be understood to derogate aught from the merits of the volume of inspiration, considered simply as a volume of ethical instruction. We freely and gratefully admit, that in this view alone, it is infinitely more valuable than all other moral treatises, whether of ancient or modern date.

It is no disparagement of the supreme excellence of the

moral lessons of the Scriptures, to affirm that, though the purest in their nature and most universal in their application ever given to the world, they do not, as they lie upon the sacred pages, meet with sufficient plainness all the varieties of cases which arise in the economy of life. Indeed, there are very few of them which do not need exemplification. Some are in the form of a sententious maxim, rich in meaning, but too abstract or recondite to be apprehended by every mind ; others are conveyed in the shape of a mere incidental hint, and of course still less easy of apprehension ; and even those which are presented in the more tangible and attractive form of living examples, often seem to common observers to be calculated only for a single meridian in the sphere of morals, for some rare juncture in human affairs.

Hence, there is a broad space left open in the concerns of life, for which no adequate provision, ready at hand, is furnished by the Scriptures. They supply the elementary principles, it is true ; but not precisely in a shape which adapts them at once to universal use. They put lights into our hands, suited to guide us aright in every department and variety of duty, private and public, individual and social ; but the placing of them in different positions, so that they shall throw their illumination upon all the various fields and possible junctures of action, is a labor which we are to perform for ourselves.

Now this is the precise business of practical ethics. It is to fill up the outline which the pen of inspiration has drawn—not with the crude materials of conjecture, or mere speculative reason—but with materials derived from the same source, brought forth from their comparative obscurity, amplified, and adjusted in proper place and order. A system of ethics should be but an analysis, a classification, and luminous development of the scriptural principles of morality, so executed as to indicate, as far as possible, the path of duty, not merely where the dictates of conscience, together with those of common sense, would be a sufficient guide, but where peculiar circumstances create a case of doubt and perplexity. “When the obligations of morality are taught,” says Johnson, “let the sanctions of Christianity never be forgotten : by which it will be shown that they give strength and lustre to each other : religion will appear to be the voice of reason, and morality will be the voice of God.”

It should be the main end of an ethical treatise, to enable

us to solve those moral problems so often arising, in the ordinary transactions of men, to which the precepts of revelation have a reference too remote for most minds to discern. The science itself undoubtedly comprehends all those subjects which relate to human duty, so far as the circumstances of the present life only are considered ; but, inasmuch as many of these subjects are sufficiently clear already in the light of the Scriptures, a writer on ethics should address himself principally to the illustration of those which are more obscure and perplexing. He should show the subjective grounds of morality as they exist in the mind ; the fundamental principles of morality as they are disclosed in the word of God, and recognized by conscience ; the support and sanction given them in the dealings of Providence, or, more intelligibly, in the good and ill experienced in life ; and their application to cases of actual and common emergency. This last topic, in a work on practical ethics, will of course receive the largest share of attention, and, at the present time, calls most loudly for elucidation. Indeed, a work embracing them all, and educing practical, intelligible, and well sustained rules for the regulation of life, in those particulars which seem not to fall directly under the cognizance of religion, would be an invaluable addition to our philosophical literature.

This department of science, though one of the highest possible concern to men, as social and accountable beings, has, if we mistake not, received less attention within the last few years, than any other. Treatises on physics and metaphysics, in their various branches and bearings, have multiplied upon us almost without number or name, intended for the use of men of every variety of age and mental condition,—for the child of the nursery, the unlettered day-laborer, and the votary of refinement and fashion. Keys fitted to unlock the very *penetralia* of the temple of science, are now manufactured, we are informed, of all sizes and shapes, suited to the delicate hands of the young and tasteful, or for the coarser use of the vulgar and the aged. But amid this stir and strife to scatter the substance of “all knowledges” abroad upon the common mind, the science of ethics, properly and distinctively so called, seems to have been quite overlooked. In nearly every other department of philosophy, important advances have, within the last twenty-five years, unquestionably been made, both in the right line of new discoveries, and in the collateral extension of the advan-

tages of the old. But in the department of moral philosophy, as distinguished from psychology on the one hand, and religion on the other, the learned world has been for some time content to remain in a condition little better than stationary. We have had, it is true, some ephemeral essays and disquisitions, and a few truly valuable chapters, embodied in large metaphysical treatises, like those of Stewart and Brown; but no man has appeared, to lay open, with the hand of a master, the whole subject of practical ethics, and to trace its principles, in one direction, to their common centre in the universal law of infinite benevolence as revealed alike by Christianity and conscience, and, on the other, to their legitimate results in the economy of life—presenting at once a correct classification of the moral feelings and the elementary principles of ethics, and a safe guide in those modifications of human duty, which arise from the diversified and singularly complicated circumstances, under which men are often called to act, and for which only a very remote and hardly tangible provision is made in the precepts of the Bible. We do not forget here the laudable, and, in some sense, successful labors of Chalmers and Abercrombie and Parkhurst and Sullivan, and other writers both English and American; but their works—“sit venia verbo”—do not satisfy the public mind, for the very reason that they are not adapted altogether to public utility. They do not answer the purposes which we are now contemplating, and for which chiefly, if not exclusively, such works are desirable. They fail to touch very many of those points which need most of all to be elucidated. They are in general too eloquent upon the plain, and too silent upon the obscure. Had we time, we would point out some of their defects, but criticism is not our present object.

To what cause this comparative neglect of ethical science is to be attributed, at a time when almost every other subject of practical interest has been dissected, and simplified, and illustrated, almost beyond all former example—whether to the notion that the “Ultima Thule” had been reached in this field of investigation; or, that the entire ground of morals was of right so covered by the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, that ethics ought no longer to be considered as a distinct and separate department; or, that the light of *her* instructions had fallen so strongly upon all the paths of human duty, as to preclude the necessity, if not

to render impious the practice, of repairing to reason and the moral sense for direction, or of empaling ourselves at any point in the lessons of philosophy—whether to either or all of these, or to what other causes the fact be owing, we shall not now stop to inquire. The fact itself, we presume, will not be denied.

It is very possible that this deficiency has been, in some measure, incidentally supplied by discourses proceeding from the pulpit and the press; but many topics in morals are still involved in a degree of darkness, as apprehended by most minds, which would have better become the middle age. A distinct and comprehensive work on ethics is needed, whose character shall be at once philosophic and popular, adapted to common capacities, yet not undeserving the attention of enlarged and vigorous minds, in a form suited to general circulation and to ensure for it a place in the parlor-library and the school-boy's satchel. Such a work would be superlatively valuable at any time. For

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“To know  
That which before us lies in daily life,  
Is the prime wisdom; what is more is fume,  
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence;  
And renders us, in things that most concern,  
Unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek.”

But especially is such a work needed at the present time, when questions, involving important ethical principles, are agitated in the community—in every part of the civilized world indeed—with a violence which threatens to throw society, through all its length and breadth and depths, into a ferment of rancorous and raging strife. We, as a people, are even now in a position of peculiar danger. We pride ourselves on having escaped so happily from the thralldom of prescription, the tyranny of opinion sanctioned only by their venerable antiquity. We exult in our freedom—not merely from political bondage—but in our freedom of opinion, of sentiment, of soul. We boast that *principle* now is our only guide; and that where *principle* leads, we are ready to follow, careless alike of present hazard and future results. This may be well. It argues a noble independence, and a spirit of enterprise which aims high and will be content with nothing less than the highest interests of man. But the danger is, that in this rage for *principle*, we shall mistake for truth, what is in fact but specious error, and be led away

by a meteor, when we imagine we are following the polar star. Every thing here, it is superfluous to remark, must depend on the nature of the principles adopted for our guide. If they are sound, then will our course be safe, and our progress toward the great ends of individual and social existence, prosperous and rapid ;—if they are false, then shall we plunge at once into disaster, disappointment, and ruin.

As an instance of the danger—and that on the large scale of political affairs—of which we are here speaking, we may refer to the position taken by certain boastful assertors of the doctrine of absolute equality, universal liberty, and inalienable rights. None are more sanguine than they of the soundness of their principles and the justice of their cause ; and hence their motto, too stale almost to be quoted, “*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*” But, as a great man has said, “Patriotism is often the last refuge of the scoundrel ;” \* so also *justice, principle*, or rather something which has stolen the name, may become the subterfuge of bigoted enthusiasts and well-meaning but misjudging innovators. It is easy to conceive how men under such protection, deceived by those mirages of ethical sophistry, may be led to most hazardous measures in relation to public peace and prosperity, and to scatter abroad firebrands, arrows, and death, while they lay the flattering unction to their souls, that they are, *per excellentiam*, philanthropists, the benefactors of their race. The fallacy of these doctrines has been ably and triumphantly exposed in an article in a previous number of this work ; and that article perhaps we may be allowed to propose as a happy specimen of ethical disquisition. And may we not also be allowed to hope, that a writer who has already cleared his way so well to one of the highest points within the circle of this science, will favor the public, at some future time, with the results of a research that shall extend over the entire ground ?

Another instance of danger, not dissimilar to the one just adverted to, is the practice so common among a certain class of men, of condemning and discarding all considerations of expediency, in the prosecution of any of the great ends of human virtue and happiness. It is said that expediency is a maxim totally at variance with Christianity ; and “applied solely or chiefly in a bad cause ; that it is the pillar

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\* Dr. Johnson. We quote from memory.

on which oppressors, and tyrants, and selfish governments lean; the support of every public nuisance, and the one argument against all public reform; that it defers an intended reformation to the last possible moment of procrastination; and when the evil can no longer be endured in its luxuriance, it takes away all energy from the reforming principle, and prevents its thorough operation, pruning a few of the branches, but leaving the tree in the ground. It is a principle which all Christians ought to abhor." We shall not undertake to determine precisely what this monster of expediency is, which the writer of these sentences attacks with such violence of denunciation. Possibly, in the shape it presented to his eye, and as the author or supporter of the evils which he then was laboring to remove, it deserves all the severity with which he treats it. Expediency, undoubtedly, when it pleads for the neglect of duty or the indulgence of crime, "is a principle which every Christian ought to abhor." Whenever it stands opposed to the progress of truth, of justice, of religion, or to any well ascertained principle of morality, it cannot be denounced in terms too strong. But to condemn the principle universally and without qualification, seems to us not to savor altogether of the wisdom of him, who said to his followers, when he sent them out to promulgate the doctrines of Christianity, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Without going largely into the consideration of this subject here, we will remark in passing, that a writer who will show successfully what the proper province of expediency is, in the regulation of human conduct, will deserve well of the public. Nothing is more certain than that it is *not* the foundation of morals, and that it can hold only a subordinate place in determining questions of duty. The theories of Mandeville and Hume, and even Paley, in all which the doctrine of expediency in some shape or other enters into the fundamental principles, and is interwoven with the essential texture of ethics, will find at this day, it is believed, few enlightened advocates. But is it to be discarded altogether? Having ascertained the general line of conduct to which we are called by the laws of conscience and of God, are we never to make any inquiries on the ground of expediency, as to the particulars of mode and manner in which we are to pursue it? Finding the grand objects at which we are to aim, clearly set before us in the disclosures of religion and morality, is the question

never left to our own discretion to decide, in what particular path, or by what specific means, we will endeavor to attain them? But, it may be said, all the principles necessary to guide us are likewise disclosed. And what if this be conceded? Is there no space left open, notwithstanding, for the exercise of discretion in the application of these principles? Those objects we must labor to attain, and in that labor we must apply these principles;—but the manner and the means are still, in no small extent, committed to our judgment. Principles do not usually mark out such an *unvarying* line, nor were they intended to impel us in such an *uniform* course under all possible circumstances, as would seem to imply that we were little else than machines, endowed with the power of self-motion indeed, but without the faculty of foresight or reason. Did not Paul, whom none certainly will charge with following a supple and temporizing policy, act on the principle of expediency, when—not to mention other occasions not less strongly marked—he addressed the polite and proud Athenians on Mars-hill, in language as polite and winning as any of their own boasted orators; and, instead of kindling their rage, as some would have done, by denouncing, in terms of virulent invective, their impious idolatry, pointed to the altar with the inscription—*To the unknown God*—and said, “Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you”? His object was, to convince them of their error and their guilt, and open their minds to the light of truth. And for this purpose he knew it was *expedient*, in the first place, to gain access to their hearts in a manner characterized by kind and courteous respect. True, his success appears not to have been great; but will any dare affirm it would have been greater, had he assaulted them with a storm of impetuous denunciation? This might have been lawful, and, no doubt, many would have preferred it;—but was he not right in judging some things which were *lawful*, not to be *expedient*?

We say, some might have preferred a different course. They *do* prefer it; and having ascertained what is *lawful*—what the laws of morality and religion require—they dismiss all considerations of expediency in the *manner* of fulfilling them, and hurry and storm along their way like the fabled Jupiter in a tempest. It is not our present purpose to administer reproof or admonition; but to point out the danger—



ous consequences to which this unlawful mode of doing lawful things—for we conceive that expediency here is, in some sense, clothed with the sanctions of law—must in many instances inevitably lead. It will often defeat its own ends; and not only so, but excite prejudices against a good cause, and the lawful modes of promoting it, which the power of sober arguments cannot remove, and hardly the Lethæan influences of time can soften.

We freely admit, however, that the doctrine of expediency, considered as a general interpreter of duty, is still more hazardous. When a man undertakes to decide on a course of action, following expediency as his main guide, he throws himself adrift from all the safe moorings of morality. If he regards this or that act as expedient—and therefore proper—in relation to its bearing on his own good, real or imaginary, and for this reason alone determines to perform it, his course is obviously immoral and unjust. If he judges of it with a view to its effects on others, or to its general consequences, then he adopts a criterion which is altogether imaginary and conjectural. No man can determine, nor even form a probable conjecture, what the ultimate consequences of any act will be. “There is not the least ground for supposing,” says an acute and able writer, “that the crimes of Nero were less instrumental in bringing about our present advantages, than the virtues of the Antonines.” Yet expediency, in one or the other of these views, is unquestionably more often consulted, as a criterion in morals, than any other principle whatever. It is generally easy for men to shelter and entrench themselves here, while pursuing any line of conduct which ministers to their pleasure or their profit, however directly at variance it may be with the plain decisions of conscience.

Now we are not quite so ignorant of human nature, as to suppose that any moral disquisitions, however clear may be the reasoning, forcible the arguments, or excellent the rules presented, and however widely they may be diffused, will ever set the world right in morals, either as to theory or practice. But we believe that something may, by such means, be contributed toward the production of this effect, and something in the highest degree important. It is time that the principle of expediency was set before the public in its true form and attitude; that the proper province in which, and the ends for which, it is to be employed, were

definitely described ; and that the sacred ground of essential morality were vindicated from its unlawful and unhallowed encroachments. Indeed, as has before been suggested, it is of infinite moment, that the whole field of practical ethics should be thoroughly and carefully explored ; and that all fundamental questions connected with individual and social morality, should be faithfully canvassed and definitely settled. The present condition of the public mind and of public morals requires it. If there is not much "terra incognita" here, there is, to say the least, much ground that has been but partially examined, and still more, where no adequate lights have been kindled, and landmarks set up, to guide the unreflecting traveller. We would not speak in terms of disparagement of the moral pretensions of the age ; but in all soberness, and under the strong compulsion of conscious truth, we say, that the ignorance and misapprehension which prevail in relation to this most important of all sciences, among otherwise enlightened and judicious men, is reproachful to the community and darkly ominous of evil. There are many who would blush to betray a want of acquaintance with the rules of grammar or arithmetic, in the ordinary intercourse of society and transactions of trade, who nevertheless suffer no uneasiness, though consciously unable to explain the grounds of their daily duties, or even to determine intelligently what those duties are. And, what may seem still more strange, these are not the profane, the reckless, the licentious merely, but men who pay a scrupulous regard to all the decencies and proprieties of life. Their course of action, whatever it may be, and it is perhaps entirely unimpeachable, they follow mechanically from habit, from custom, or for the respectability or emolument to which it leads, and in the pursuance of it they flatter themselves that they fulfil all the claims of morality ;—when if required to state the moral principles under the conduct of which any part of that course had been marked out and pursued, they would be found completely at a loss, not so much from previous inattention, as from gross and utter ignorance. And this evil is by no means confined to men of inferior intellect or loose habits of thought ;—it prevails to a truly alarming extent among men of every class and in every occupation, not excepting even those who profess to be governed by the principles of Christianity. Now this is disgraceful as well as perilous to a being, whose highest distinction and most

responsible prerogative is, that he is a rational and moral creature.

But it may be inquired, How is this an evil, if the course of conduct with which it is so often connected, be perfectly regular and exemplary? It is so, because it is opposed to all moral improvement. It keeps the moral nature—all that is truly spiritual in man—in a state of complete depression and lifelessness. If it does not lead to positive vice, it leads to what differs from it only, or at least very much, as the innocent sluggishness of the brute differs from the restless depravity of the felon. And this, surely, in a being endowed with moral faculties and capable of the noblest moral attainments, is an evil, a vice of immeasurable magnitude. But, in a vast majority of instances, it does lead to vices, in the usual acceptation of the term, and vices of every name and degree. It feeds the fountain of corruption in the soul, and opens the sluices through which its foul streams may flow forth upon the world in all the hideous varieties of crime.

The evil before us undoubtedly has its root in the perverted nature of man; nor can we expect it to be effectually eradicated, except by a higher power than the science of ethics discloses. But may not a *proximate* cause of its prevalence be found in the general neglect of ethical science? And would not the evil be considerably checked, would not the motives to virtue be more sensibly felt, would not the energy even of religion be augmented, at least, would not its operation be assisted and its beautiful proportions exhibited more advantageously to the world, if men from the days of childhood were made familiar with this science, in its fundamental principles and practical requirements? But in what school, or family, or by what individual, in acquiring an education for the usual callings and duties of life, is it made a subject of profound or even of superficial study? The sciences of language, of numbers, of the earth, and the heavens, are regarded as indispensable, even in an ordinary education; and few in our day and in this illuminated portion of the country, pass out into active life without a considerable acquaintance with them. But where are the doctrines of ethics investigated and made familiar, in any process or stage of common education? Where are the principles of moral duty, in their manifold application in the ever varying concerns and circumstances

of life, unfolded, illustrated, and impressed upon the mind of the young candidate for usefulness and honor?

This we contend ought to be done; and it must be done, or vice will thrive and flourish, drawing its nourishment from the very soil which a merely intellectual cultivation has prepared for it. And where virtue may perchance appear in its stead, it will be but of bastard growth and of doubtful character. Does any say, then, that this is a matter of inferior moment?—A knowledge of the principles of duty, less important than a knowledge of the forms and laws of language, of the structure and diversified surface of the earth, of the distances and motions of the heavenly bodies, of the merest processes of numerical calculation? Does it less concern us, as rational and accountable beings, to know definitely and distinctly what course of action we are bound to pursue, in our several relations to God and to man, and in the almost endless diversifications of conduct, growing out of those relations, and calling for attention every day of our lives—than to know how to speak and write correctly, how to locate or bound a city or a province, how to explain the revolutions of the planets, or how to cast up the weekly or yearly accounts of our gains and losses? Is our true interest more intimately connected with a knowledge of the physical universe, and with what serves mainly to gratify curiosity and to facilitate the transactions of trade—than with a deep and clear understanding of what is required of us, in every possible juncture and combination of circumstances, by the immutable principles of justice, equity, and benevolence, as revealed by conscience and the word of God? The simple statement is a sufficient refutation.

It has been already asserted that little—a mere substitute for nothing—is done in our schools to engraft the principles of this science upon the youthful mind. We do not forget here the laudable and most useful labors of Sabbath school instruction. In this way, it is true, the principles of scriptural morality are in some measure unfolded, and young minds familiarized with their more usual demands and applications. In this way also, many apposite and affecting examples, fitted in the happiest manner to illustrate and enforce the maxims of pure ethics, are brought to view and indelibly impressed on the memory. Few teachers, however, have the requisite ability, or the requisite time, to

carry out these principles in all their bearings, and give them an abiding, practical force on the minds of their pupils, except perhaps in their most simple and obvious form of application. And the consequence is, that these pupils go out into the world, with much valuable knowledge of the Bible and of biblical morality, it is granted; but yet with ideas so general and so little accommodated practically to those unanticipated questions in morals, which the affairs of daily life are fitted continually to suggest, that they are after all much in the condition of a ship upon unknown seas.

No person of reflection and candor can doubt, that moral studies should hold a prominent place among the branches pursued in our common schools. A great change here is imperiously demanded. But before it can be effected, we must have an ethical treatise which will meet the demand. The fact is, we have no text-books, no guides, nothing at all adapted to the exigency of the case. To direct the youth to study Paley, would be to entangle him in a net-work of plausible but pernicious sophistry;—and yet to what better guide could you commit him? Paley, indeed, if his theory were correct, could hardly be expected to win general favor. Precise, simple, nervous, and business-like, he is admirably suited to mature minds; but for the young, we need something more familiar, more replete with illustration, more on a level with common affairs, and having more of the light and warmth of actual life. But the grand defect of this writer is, that his system is fundamentally false, and calculated, while it must fail us as a guide in practice, to sap the very foundation of genuine morality. Other works we have, it is true, both English and American; but nothing which a discerning public seem willing to patronize, or even coldly to approve. A good text-book in ethics, therefore, at once philosophical and popular, correct in theory, luminous in plan, rich in illustration, attractive in style, and practical in tendency, is still a desideratum; and till it be supplied, one most important branch of education, on which, perhaps hardly less than any other, the future character and well being of the community is suspended, must lie in comparative neglect.

## ARTICLE IV.

ON THE RIGHT OF DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF  
SLAVERY.

THE people of the slave-holding States, on the question of slavery, may properly be arranged into three classes. First, the advocates of perpetual bondage. The number of men is by no means inconsiderable, who justify slavery both in the abstract and in practice. Elaborate vindications of the right of holding men in servitude have been attempted in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. We have in our possession a voluminous pamphlet, from the pen of a learned college professor, in which the principles of a petty despotism are alleged with considerable ability, and with great zeal.— Another very large class maintain, with various shades of difference, the following propositions. Slavery was wrong in its origin: the guilt of its introduction rests mainly, if not entirely, on Great Britain, or, at all events, on past generations: the present race of slave-holders, are principally concerned in affording kind bodily treatment to the slaves, and in mitigating, so far as may be, a necessary evil: the means, by which slavery may be finally removed, are wrapped in impenetrable mystery. Such are the practical opinions, if they are not the theory, of a great number of slave-holders.— A third class, small as yet, but constantly increasing, are ready to take immediate measures to prepare their slaves for a condition of freedom. They look forward with strong hope to the time when slavery shall be extirpated from the land. Many of them, particularly in the States of Maryland and Kentucky, are willing to fix on a definite time, at which involuntary servitude shall cease. They readily unite in any practicable and judicious measure for the accomplishment of this object.

The first class of persons, which we have mentioned, deny the right and expediency of agitating the question of slavery any where, and on any occasion. Of course, they are to be justified in so doing, if slavery is the blessed institution which they try to prove that it is. Why attack the great civilizer of nations? Why cast your missiles on a venerable patriarchal

institution, sanctioned by the Mosaic economy, and tolerated even under the Christian dispensation?

The second class, while they would not take away from *themselves* the right of discussing the question, deny the exercise of this right to the people of the free States, or at least, if they yield the right, deny the propriety of using it. They assert that slavery is altogether a domestic concern. Remedies, if any shall ever be found, must be devised and applied by slave-holders, and by them alone. The people of the north must observe a profound silence on the whole question, or if any thing be said or written, it must be confined to naked theories. There must be a total abstinence from facts. Every movement in the north will only make the bolts of slavery stronger and firmer, and retard, if they do not totally prevent, the day of emancipation.

We do not doubt at all, that such assertions are made in entire sincerity and good faith. At the same time, we are compelled wholly to dissent from them. We cannot see the expediency or the justice, of abstaining from the discussion of this great subject. We do not know of a single question in political economy, or in morals, which demands more mature investigation, more thorough and profound discussion. Before proceeding, however, to exhibit the reasons for this opinion, we will make a few preliminary observations.

The vast majority of the people of the free States, have no wish to interfere directly or indirectly, with any legal or constitutional rights of the southern States. They are willing to abide by the contract which they have formed. They could wish, indeed, that there had been no necessity for any compromise between the free and slave-holding States, in forming the constitution. But as it is, they have no wish to dissolve the Union, abrogate the constitution, or impair any of its provisions. Under the broad shield of the constitution, all the States have lived and rejoiced; God has made it the instrument of immeasurable blessings; may it pass unhurt through every fiery trial.

Again, the people of the free States decidedly prefer to *follow* in all discussions on this subject. They wish to take a subordinate place, as advisers and co-operators. They wish their brethren in the southern States to originate plans, and point out the line of argument, and they will readily fall in and take the lowest rank. Their heart's desire and prayer to God is, that *something* may be done. In the *execution* of

any plan, they do not expect or desire to lead. They know that nothing can be *done* without the cordial and full consent of the slave-holders.

Once more, we are willing to admit all those palliations, and alleviating circumstances, in respect to southern slavery, of which the case admits. If there be any redeeming qualities in the system, however slight may be their influence, we consider it to be our duty fully to acknowledge them. No man will say that the inheriting of slaves is so criminal as for a northern man to remove to a slave-holding State, and purchase them. There is certainly a greater degree of wrong in selling slaves *indiscriminately*, than in selling an entire family together. We know perfectly that many a slave-holder, from the time when his eyes first saw the light, has been surrounded with slaves. They have nursed him in sickness, and have ministered to his every want and gratification. He has never been taught on the Sabbath, or elsewhere, to think upon the wrongfulness of the slave system, upon its palpable and tremendous violation of that rule which requires us to do to others *as* we would be done by ourselves. His eyes, perhaps, were never fixed on *one* of the *principles* of the New Testament, which, if conscientiously and universally practised, would annihilate slavery forever. A southern newspaper is a very different thing from a northern one. Those southern editors, who are friends of ultimate emancipation, are compelled to admit articles upon the subject with extreme caution, and only such as have a remote and circuitous bearing upon the subject. This ignorance certainly does not justify what is wrong, but it would be difficult to prove that it does not afford some alleviation of it. To a certain extent, and in regard to many men, this ignorance is not altogether wilful.

We believe, furthermore, that slavery ought to be regarded mainly in its *economical and moral* bearings. It has always been the tendency in public opinion in the northern States, to regard slavery principally in its physical character, as the cause of extreme and extensive bodily suffering. But if this species of suffering were occasioned in a tenfold greater degree than it is, it would not be wise in us to *dwell* upon it. It would furnish the appearance of attacking the slave-holder, rather than the system of slavery. It administers personal reproof to him as a cruel tyrant. His passions are immediately aroused, and he loses sight of the *system*—of the



iniquity of the system. If the amount of bodily suffering be as great as it is pretended to be, still it is much greater in some kinds of business than in others, and in some districts of country, than in others. Of course, an aggrieved slaveholder will defend himself, and the portion of country where he resides; and by being subjected to the necessity of making this defence, he is brought into a state of mind unfitted to listen to arguments. In short, bodily sufferings are a very small part of the evils of slavery. Its influence on the prosperity of the nation, and its social and moral effects, ought to be exhibited with great prominence and frequency.

Notwithstanding these concessions, which are made most cheerfully, we consider it to be the right and the duty of the people of the free States to discuss slavery, and all the questions which grow out of it.

It is, in the first place, utterly impracticable to place the ban of prohibition upon it. In this age, and particularly in this country, it is impossible to muzzle the press on any subject. If you establish a censorship, the flame is only smothered; it will speedily burst forth in tenfold fury. How can an interdict be laid? You must stop all intercourse with Great Britain. The journals of the reformed parliament must be sealed up. An embargo must be laid on all communication with the British West Indies, now on the eve of disenthralment. We must close our ears to the voices of joy, which are coming from every region under the whole heavens. In the language of Mr. Clay, we must blow out the great lights of freedom, which are every where springing up. We must go further, and quench the light of reason in the human soul. Discussion, we repeat it, is unavoidable. The question of slavery, in one form or another, comes up before Congress, at almost every session. There have been, for instance, the subject of an arrangement respecting the northwestern territory, the enactment of laws to suppress the slave-trade, the Missouri question, the condition of the slave-traffic in the District of Columbia, the case of Marigny d' Auterive and fugitive slaves generally, the public lands, nullification—all have brought the question of slavery to the attention of Congress, and some of them in circumstances of almost volcanic excitement. Other aspects of this great matter, will constantly require the interposition of Congress, or, at least, become the themes of earnest debate. The people will read and catch the excitement. The eloquent discus-

sions in the Virginia legislature, soon after the Southampton massacre, were read and pondered well in every corner of the free States.

Again, we are heavily involved in the guilt of introducing slavery into this country. We are not uninterested spectators. The ships of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were once concerned in the accursed traffic. Overgrown estates in New England, are the product of tears and blood. Splendid mansions, like the royal house of Dahomey, have been reared on human skulls. Participating in the crime, we wish also to participate in the repentance. We claim it as our due. We cannot, with a satisfied conscience, remain silent. We desire to wash our hands in innocency on this subject, before we can compass the altars of God, or our own firesides, in peace.

We also feel for the honor of the country. We are citizens of the United States. We love the union of the whole twenty-four members of the confederacy. We feel ashamed and confounded, to hear the reproaches which are cast upon us from beyond the ocean. It is true, that the notes of derision come with an ill grace from Great Britain, author and patroness, as she was, of the colonial slave-system, holding on to her West Indian oppressions, as she has done, till the present year, and extending over all southern Asia, the rod of a dominion, not in all cases the mildest and most equitable. Still, where is the citizen of the United States, who wishes to listen, year after year, to the taunting interrogative, 'What do ye more than others? What are your boasted professions of liberty, but the most shameless hypocrisy?' It is the United States, which are disgraced in the eyes of Britain, and of the world. Shall we then sit down calmly, and close our mouth, and quietly acquiesce in the charge? It is quite impossible to make such explanations to the people of other countries, as might be partially satisfactory to ourselves. Neither O'Connell, nor Buxton, can fully understand the delicate organization of our government—the jealousy of the States, the weakness of the federal arm, and the impossibility of putting an end to slavery legally, except by the independent action of the States. Hence, Massachusetts is made to bear more than her proportion of the sins of South Carolina.

The people of the free States, share in the positive evils of slavery. It is for the advantage of every portion of the

country, that all the other portions should be in a state of the highest prosperity. When one member rejoices, all the other members rejoice with it. We have no desire from motives of self-interest, to witness the decline, relative or real, of any State of the confederacy. We wish to see our southern brethren developing their noble physical resources to the utmost, and coming up to the full line in moral improvement, and enjoying the benefits of universal education. *Their* calamities affect the population, resources, union, and prosperity of the whole United States. The slave question will be, we fear, a constant cause of disaffection and alienation as long as the system lasts. Injudicious and inflammatory writers, both in the northern and southern States, will keep up a perpetual war of angry words and of bad passions. Disadvantageous comparisons will be urged in respect to various portions of the country. Fugitive slaves will pass over the line, and they must be reclaimed by a judicial process. The communities in which such trials take place, will be aroused, and mobs will be excited, just as they have been in many instances in times past. In short, the free States have no inconsiderable pecuniary interest in the abolition of slavery.

Furthermore, most of the framers of our excellent constitution were, on principle, opposed to slavery. Tacit provisions in respect to it were admitted into the constitution, only from dire necessity. Governor Randolph of Virginia thought that the constitution itself contained provisions for the abolition of the system of slavery. Governor Jay of New York, one of the ablest expounders of constitutional law which our country has produced, labored indefatigably and successfully to procure the abolition of slavery in the State of New York. The *intention* of the framers of the constitution is surely entitled to some regard in the discussion of this subject.

Slavery, as a national evil, threatening the existence of the country, and opposed to the principles of Christianity, ought to be thoroughly discussed. From its delicate relations, and particularly from its political bearings, great candor and kindness are certainly demanded; but as we value the injunctions of revelation in respect to national sins, we do not see how we can be conscientiously silent. Either slavery is not a national evil, or certain circumstances have so changed its character as to render it inexpedient to discuss

its condition and aspects, which we by no means believe; or, it is a fair theme for rigorous investigation, and candid but thorough development. As a simple question of morals, as furnishing subjects in national history, and political law, interesting to the human mind in general, we should be very unwilling to exclude the system of slavery. But we wish to go further and consider it *as it exists in this country*. We wish to look at facts.

It is said by our friends in the southern States, that we are exceedingly liable to misapprehend and mistake the matter, and therefore we ought to refrain from intermeddling with it. We do not doubt that slavery, *in some of its aspects*, has been frequently misjudged and exaggerated by those who have not been personally familiar with its details. But on the other hand, we are, in some respects, in a better situation to judge of its real nature and tendency than slave-holders themselves. It is one of the worst effects of slavery that it blunts the moral sensibilities. There are certain habits, growing out of the social relations of slavery, which are universally witnessed and acknowledged in a slave-holding State, which would do violence to the sensibilities of a northern man. In regard to many points, a distance from the scene itself is an advantage. We are less liable to be imposed upon by self-interest, familiarity with the evil, prejudice, sectional feelings, wounded pride, and other causes which warp the judgment. Besides, we are willing to rely, for the opinions which we form on the subject, wholly on the testimony of slave-holders. This testimony may also be such as all parties will acknowledge to be unimpeachable—testimony collateral, cross-examined, weighed and sifted. It is our intention, in a future number, to present to our readers our views of the evils of slavery, derived mostly from this source.\*

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\*“It has never been disguised, that the Colonization Society regards slavery as an evil, and an evil of the most alarming character; the removal of which, claims the deliberate attention of every man who wishes to see our boasted political institutions transmitted in their purity to succeeding generations. Every day is teeming with additional proofs, if proofs were wanting, of the evils of slavery, and its manifest inconvenience as a component part of our political system. It is plain that the sentiments and opinions of the nation are undergoing a thorough and radical change. That it is incompatible with the spirit of our free institutions, few will be found to deny.”  
—Address of J. T. Morehead, lieutenant governor of Kentucky, before the State Col. Soc. Jan. 8, 1834.

It is the general experience in regard to this subject, that slavery, in past times, has not been abolished, wholly or chiefly, by the impulse of slave-holders themselves. The original impetus is *external*. The moving cause is foreign. Slavery was abolished in Ceylon, not by the Dutch land-lords primarily, but by the philanthropic efforts of Sir Alexander Johnstone. The labors of Mr. T. H. Baber and others, are fast bringing about the same result, in respect to the slaves in Western India. Dr. Philip accomplished the same thing in South Africa against the opposition of the Dutch boors, as well as of many Englishmen high in office. What would have been the condition of the British West Indies, if the slave proprietors, or the colonial legislatures, had been left to take their own course? Nothing surely but unmitigated and interminable slavery. In regard to our country, indeed, the nature of the federal and state governments, and the constitutional difficulties, demand a great degree of caution and candor. But they do not shut up the door of discussion. We claim the privileges of Saxons and of Englishmen—free discussion. We believe that our southern brethren, notwithstanding their assertions, need our assistance. Without appeals and reasonings from *foreign* sources, they would either remain torpid in inaction, or disheartened from the apparent hopelessness of final abolition. What is uttered and written in the free States, though tinged, it may be, with prejudice, is *felt* in the southern communities. It awakens inquiry, leads to discussion, calls forth denials, and perhaps denunciation and recrimination, but it does good. In relation to such a tremendous evil, any thing short of anarchy is better than a dead calm. In our opinion, one of the great benefits, which the Colonization Society has conferred on the land, is this: it has led men in every part of the country to think, and talk, and write on the subject of slavery. It has unquestionably had this effect in a most gratifying degree. The labors of the lamented Fitzhugh, in Virginia, are but a specimen. It is not strange, therefore, that the advocates of perpetual slavery in the southern States, are to a man, opposed to the Colonization Society. And all others who are unwilling that the people of the northern States should discuss slavery, ought, in order to maintain their consistency, to take the same course. Touch the subject where you will, you awaken inquiry, and suggest reflections. In truth, the sentiment of the whole civilized

world, is setting in with irresistible force against slavery. The whole tendency of the benevolent voluntary associations of the present day, is adverse to slavery. The Bible Society cannot accomplish its perfect work, till every slave in our country owns and can read the word of God. No legislation can stop the course of events. The whole world is sighing for a better state—for some islands of the blessed, even on earth, which will not forever elude their sight. The doings of the last British parliament were but the commencement of the “fifth act.” Every shovel-full of earth, it has been quaintly remarked, which is thrown from a canal or rail-road, is doing something for the abolition of slavery. Every Bible which is distributed, every tract which is sent out on the wings of the wind, every effort for the verbal instruction of the slaves, every emigrant which leaves the American coast, every patent deposited in the department of state, every word for freedom uttered from the heart in the four quarters of the world, every secret tear and silent prayer of the captive,—all, “with one endeavor, and with full consent,” are hastening the abolition of slavery, and the redemption of the world.

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#### ARTICLE V.

#### THE STUDY OF SACRED HISTORY.

OUR sacred history—Jewish and Christian—is nearly uncultivated—terra incognita—by a large majority of the reading community. It is not the prevailing taste to *study* history of any kind. He who stops long to investigate—to compare—to weigh and balance—to scent out the noiseless, unobserved footsteps of truth or error—to trace the insensible changes of principle and character in large masses of men—to hold converse with that philosophy, which is said to teach by the examples of history, is in danger of falling quite in the rear of his age. He is in much the same predicament with the man, who jumps out of a rail-road car to do a half

hour's business on the way, and equally sure to part company with his companions. But ecclesiastical history—church history—it stands in a modern library, (if peradventure its owner has inherited any such things,) by the side of John Calvin's Commentaries, and Joseph Butler's Works; or, with those venerable records of learning and wisdom, and others of a kindred excellence, has been bestowed in a corner of the garret—the general repository of antiquated furniture, and “old books”—to await the final gathering up of things for the administrator's sale.

There is some apology for this distaste for sacred history, in the fact that it is, to such a lamentable degree, neither agreeably nor satisfactorily written. The authors on this subject, who have appeared in English, have fallen far short of the first class of historians, and, unless the translation of the recent work of Neander, be an exception, have entirely failed to communicate the charm of united genius and original research, to their productions. And what is, perhaps, quite as unfortunate for the reputation of ecclesiastical history, the most illustrious of our civil historians have taken no satisfaction in displaying the merits of the church. The eloquence of Gibbon and Hume, gives no attractions to the annals of Christian heroism. Even Robertson, had little sensibility to the real spirit of the religion, at whose altars, we have too much reason to fear, he hypocritically and profanely ministered. In a field so crowded with objects, as that which modern European history embraces, it is not easy for pretty well read men to judge of the completeness of the view, or the justness of the relations, which the picture before them presents. Most readers, of course, commit themselves to the direction of their guide, with entire confidence. And it may be well questioned whether any thing else has done so much to loosen the hold of the Christian faith upon the present generation, as the real merit and the indiscriminating, unintelligent commendation of the celebrated works of the two first of these truly great men; works, the certain tendency of which is, by ingenious sophistry and false representations, to inspire contempt for all professions of religious faith or devotion.

In this view of the subject, it is much to be regretted that we have not a series of historians, of at least equal genius, adequate learning, and a thoroughly Christian spirit, capable of bringing our religious antiquities forth from comparative

obscurity and neglect, and challenging a general respect for the immense mass of incident and variety of character, which the progress of revealed religion has undoubtedly produced. It is in the power of minds of the highest order to give interest to the least promising subjects—to render the most barren and uninviting field fertile and rich. Indeed it is the man that makes the subject, what it seems. The *sofa* was theme enough for one of the very best productions of Cowper; a few brief hints in the book of Genesis, which had before given birth to nothing but commentary upon commentary—that torpedo to the text, as Campbell calls it—furnished, to Milton, argument for *Paradise Lost*; tales and scraps of history, which had floated down the current of English tradition, or lay scattered up and down in the scanty and bald annals of the times, without, perhaps, waking up the imagination of a single mind, no sooner felt the magic touch of Shakespeare, than they arose as from the dead, and stood forth in immortal beauty and power.

It is not, however, intended by these remarks to impute the neglect of ecclesiastical history altogether to the defects of those who have written it. There is no small amount of talent or research evinced in this department. Not to mention the translation of the learned work of Mosheim, through which he is chiefly known to us, and which is said to have done so little justice to the original, and the equally common work of Milner—the *Dissertation of Villers on the Reformation*, and Bishop Ireland's *Lectures on Paganism and Christianity*, may be regarded as among the best and most delightful books in any department of knowledge. Still these treatises are not popular. Ireland's *Lectures* have not been even republished in this country, and Villers is rarely to be seen. How many, out of the profession of divinity, (if we need to make even so much exception,) have read Mosheim or Milner? May it not be said, that the singularly fortunate author of the *History of the Jews*, in the series of the *Family Library*, is about the only sacred historian that actually enjoys a tolerable popularity at this moment?

And is it merely because no more attention is deserved by those who have labored in this department of history? Or is there another reason also? a reason, which, while it contributes to explain, in some measure, the general disregard of the subject, explains, at the same time, the fact we have admitted, that sacred history has not enlisted its just proportion



of the very highest order of genius? Are not both these facts, in some degree, accounted for by the yet imperfect influence of the gospel? the partial incorporation of its great events, and doctrines, and spirit, into our literature, and the body of our associations and feelings? Religion holds no divided empire over the human heart. It admits no partner to its throne. If heartily embraced, it interweaves itself with all the creations of the mind; it is a principal element of our being, or it has essentially nothing to do with it, and becomes a mere accident or appendage. Hence, every religious system which has been honestly and cordially embraced, is seen in all the manifestations of the mind and heart of its devotees—in their science, their art, their poetry, their history, their eloquence. It breaks out to view, wherever the student of their manners and institutions turns his eye. It is incapable of concealment—it unconsciously betrays itself in all the developments of national character.

The more rational and spiritual a religion is, the more manifest will be this exhibition of it. The most striking example we have is, probably, that of the Jews. The facts and associations connected with their religious history, are the groundwork of their whole national existence. The spirit of their religion is the spirit of their civil and intellectual, as well as moral being. Their conscious relation to Jehovah, and to an expected Redeemer, is the central point of observation, from which their entire history and character, are to be viewed. For such an exhibition, in a nation purely Christian, the time has not arrived.

The history of Christianity, is the history of a protracted contest with determined and powerful enemies. Such enemies it has to encounter, in one form or another, every where. No nation has yet universally and heartily submitted to its dominion. To be baptized with the name of Christ, is not, of course, to put on his image. "They are not all Israel, which are of Israel." Nominally Christian nations present the strange spectacle of communities, of whom a comparatively small number only, even *profess* to be Christians; communities, not constituting so many churches, including each a whole people, but in which there are churches. Such nations can have no unity of character—no perfect community of feeling. Their literature cannot be one, any more than their faith and life are one. Accordingly, English literature is neither a Pagan, nor a Christian literature, but a

mixture of the two. Besides professional writers on divinity, authors of a high character, in every department, may be selected, of a truly Christian stamp—pure and purifying; whilst a multitude of others might be found, deriving, confessedly, incalculable benefits from Christianity, and boasting of their obligations to the profound conceptions which it contains, and yet, breathing a spirit essentially hostile to it, and deeply tinctured with an unhoiy and sensual philosophy; others still, and their number is not small, are avowed unbelievers, foul with the pestilent principles of general skepticism and licentiousness.

Now, so long as the public mind, or any considerable portion of it, is thus at variance with the spirit of the gospel, and, of course, with all practical exemplifications of its power in “creating us anew,” and “working in us that which is well pleasing in the sight of God;” so long there can be no reason to wonder, that sacred history—the history of the introduction and conquests of “the faith once delivered to the saints”—finds comparatively few to study and appreciate it; especially, when presented to them, as, for the most part, it is, without the attractions in which it is the prerogative of genius alone to invest the subjects of its inspiration. Even true friends of religion, so far insensibly imbibe the prevalent spirit, as scarcely to have their attention drawn to its history, and remain in voluntary ignorance of one of the richest sources of satisfaction to a pious mind.

It hardly needs to be added, that a department, so little esteemed, is not likely to be much cultivated by authors; what bears but a small price, and commands but a tardy sale, will not be industriously produced at great expense of thought and research.

There are those, however, and they will not always be few, who regard the history of religion, as the most interesting of all history; the most instructive; and the most encouraging to the hopes of man.

1. It is the most interesting of histories. Regarding the Jewish and Christian systems as substantially one—“Christ expected,” as Fenelon happily says, “in the Old Testament and reigning in the New”—the very first idea suggested to the mind is one of great sublimity—that of the uninterrupted existence of the church from the beginning—of a body of men perpetuating their principles and essential peculiarities, and tracing their descent, by written records, back to the

utmost limit of history, even to within a few generations of the parents of our race. The only body of men, that was ever much persecuted for their religion, they have been every where spoken against, and resisted, and yet never exterminated.

Suppose, that, when Abraham was called to be the founder of the Hebrew race, and "father of the faithful," the veil had been lifted from the future, and the fortunes of his children made to pass before him—their revolutions, their captivities and oppressions, under the tyrants of the west, and the south, and the east, and their constant exposure to every seductive form of superstition. On what principle of reason, would the patriarch have anticipated the preservation of the church? Yet she was preserved, till of his own blood, came the promise and hope of Israel.

But let him extend his prophetic vision, let him see the nation, which sprung from his loins, herself scattered and annihilated—her altars overthrown, and her institutions obliterated. Could he have believed that the church would still survive? She did survive; though banished from "the city of her solemnities," and persecuted even in the caves and dens of the mountains, though lacerated and tortured wherever she rested her foot for an hour, she survived, to raise new altars and new temples, and to sing a new song, in every city and village of the known world. Nay more, when the nations, with whom she had now become incorporated, were in their turn overrun and destroyed, and the languages, in which her records were contained, disused, she still lived. Neither external violence, nor internal corruption, have proved fatal. The former, she has exhausted by patience; from the latter, she has been purified by prayers.

Considered merely on the principles of taste—of dramatic effect, it is impossible to name any thing in the course of human events, so fitted to arrest attention, as what is recorded in the inspired histories. For grandeur of incident, magnificence of scenery, loftiness of principle and purpose, or touching minuteness of detail, as well as pregnant brevity of style, what can be compared with them? The great facts, the creation of the earth, and of man upon it; its sudden depopulation by the flood; redemption by the sacrifice of the Son of God; the final conflagration (for prophecy here takes the form of history); and the judgment, winding up the scene of human things, in the general assembly of all that

live, in earth, or heaven, or hell, at the throne of God—subjects treated, by the sacred writers, as familiar things—what do they leave to imagination to conceive of the sublime and wonderful?

Scarcely less singular and remarkable are the minor facts and circumstances of the history. The call and subsequent life of Abraham; the bondage in Egypt; the forty years' journeyings in the wilderness; the government and worship of the Jews in Canaan; the magnificence of the regal power; the prophetic office; and the ultimate destiny of this peculiar people—have the annals of the world, or romance itself, any thing equally romantic? To many of these things, and to the numerous touches of character and pathos in the Gospels and the Acts, let the lovers of fine writing find a parallel in the pages of Hume, or any uninspired historian. That they are not more thought of, by the generality of readers, is because they are too familiar to our ears to arouse attention—like many current maxims, less understood for being frequently repeated; or like objects of vision, too near to be distinctly seen.

As the scene, presented in ecclesiastical history, becomes wider and more complicated, embracing many nations, and all classes—enlisting philosophers and statesmen—affecting long established institutions, political and religious—and beginning to be a principal subject of thought, a centre of life and motion to society—our inspired guides forsake us, and we are left to depend on the less certain records and monuments, which time has spared. But, certainly, we are called to behold no ordinary sight, when twelve simple men of Galilee, without apparent power, or means, and with a confidence as firm as it was to human apprehension insane, undertake the conversion of the world. In little more than a century from the birth of Christ, their successors penetrate nearly every country of the earth; and plant churches every where; and, within about three hundred years, are found reposing, from their toils and perils and sufferings, under an emperor, who sways a Christian sceptre over the whole civilized world.

And yet, perhaps, the main interest of the scene does not consist in this general view. The passages of history which affect us most, and to which we oftenest recur, are not always those which derive importance from the numbers concerned, or even from the magnitude of the interests at stake; not

those, which are rendered magnificent by the achievements of power, or awful by the destruction of life. The circumstances, which give a charm to the page of history, are quite as often of a humbler character, affecting individuals more than nations, and claiming the regard of the historian, not on their own account, but as striking indications of the general nature or local peculiarities of man. Of such circumstances, ecclesiastical history is full. Indeed, the history of religion, of a spiritual religion, like the gospel, is the aggregate of the histories of the individual minds by which it is embraced. It is the history of "the law of our minds" warring against "the law in our members"—of the contest of truth and error for the throne of the heart—of reason and conscience with passion and interest—of the Spirit of God with the spirit of this world. This history introduces us not only into councils and senates, but into neighborhoods, and families, and closets. And who does not see, that the man, who can carry us back to the first ages of Christianity, and make us feel at home in the midst of its early friends, is master of no questionable or common power? If any period is rich in materials for eloquent history, it is when strong ties are ruptured, and strong passions at work; when the elements of human character are all excited; when the best and the worst traits of man are exhibited side by side. And never was this so truly the case, as in the first three centuries of the Christian era, when "a man was at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes were they of his own household"—when the "brother delivered up the brother to death, and the father the child, and the children rose up against their parents, and caused them to be put to death."

The author of Valerius, and Milman, found here materials for fiction of the choicest character. It is wonderful that more frequent use has not been made of them for the same purpose. The sacred historian, who does not avail himself of them, knows not "wherein his great strength lieth."

2. Ecclesiastical history is, in the highest degree, instructive. It is not wanting in any of the ordinary and most obvious lessons of history. The great virtues and great weaknesses of men, all appear, here, in a strong light; and the amiable affections and ferocious passions of the heart, in their mutual action, exhibit as full and as impressive a picture of human

life and character, as the world affords. What is there in the sudden reverses of fortune, the alternations of success and defeat, recorded by the historians of the Cæsars, more striking, or more worthy of attention, for any reason, than the brief but truth telling and graphic annals of the Jewish kings? What, in the artifices by which power was perpetuated for so many centuries over the pliant and abused multitudes of the ancient world, more remarkable, either for the original conception or for ingenuity of accommodation to new circumstances, than we find in the records of religious tyranny? What, so fitted to lessen our reliance on the opinions of others, without diminishing our respect for their principles and feelings, as the successive and varying forms of belief among men, equally appealing to the same unerring standard? What, so likely to restrain our fancies, and rebuke our plausible conjectures upon subjects of the highest and most hazardous speculation, as the melancholy tale of religious theorists and system-mongers? Of the fate of "vaulting ambition," "o'erleaping itself," of retiring genius and moral worth, graced with uncoveted honors, and called, by public exigencies, to an envied pre-eminence, the English church affords as instructive examples as the state. Of the immense mass of facts and experiments which constitute the treasures of history, and, it may be added, the principal materials of thought—the grounds of our practical judgments—the basis of our general truths, in the moral sciences—of these, how large a portion does this branch of history furnish; and, if we value them by their connection with ourselves, and especially by their connection with our intellectual nature, our moral relations and interests, how unlikely are we to overestimate their utility.

Of the advantages more or less peculiar to this department of history, it is easy to mention several, which it is impossible to treat at length within the limits of this essay. If their suggestion encourage the reader to pursue them into detail, for himself, the object of the writer will be answered.

The first to be named, is, that the history of the Christian religion teaches the true secret of power over the human mind. It is well demonstrated, that physical force cannot avail to govern the world. It cannot sustain itself. The wisest and best established institutions certainly decay—"Lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur." It has been man's great study to find the key to his own heart—the spring that

can regulate the moral machinery of the world. He invoked Philosophy ; and she sent out her ministers, and proclaimed her precepts. "Her word returned unto her void." Her Socrates was sacrificed in vain ; her Plato was but "as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument." Human things had reached a crisis. The experiment had been made in every form, and under every climate. No power to restrain, to hold back, much less to turn and purify and save the human race, had been discovered. The elements of society seemed ready to be separated ; man was about to "perish utterly in his own corruption." At this crisis, while the nations, with a common anxiety, and under the guidance of an obscure intimation which seems to have been circulated among them, and derived from the Jewish Scriptures, were looking for a deliverer to arise, Jesus of Nazareth appeared. He claimed the world as "his own ;" and professed to be about to reform and save it—to restore its primeval beauty and bliss. He was ridiculed for his pretensions ; hated for his virtue ; and put to death for his beneficence. He rose from the dead, and having commissioned twelve men to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," he "was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight." They went forth and preached. The sum of their doctrine was "Christ crucified"—"God manifest in the flesh." They evidently relied for success, so far as they relied on *any means*, on the simple fact, that the Son of God had suffered upon the cross for the redemption of man. This fact they preached always, and every where. They "knew nothing else." The work has been arduous and long ; but it cannot be doubted, that the world will be converted ; and converted by this one, great and single truth. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me ;" a prophecy, how certain to be accomplished.

History shows the actual power of this doctrine ; and a little reflection enables us to see how admirably it is fitted to our case. Sin is, in its nature, a triumph over reason and conscience. In proportion as it is indulged, it deadens the moral sensibilities. Hence, under a government of law, the progress of iniquity is, perhaps, always irresistible, and terminates in the abandonment of all duty and the defiance of all authority. What evidence is there that a single moral being, who has once resisted his conscience and sacrificed

his character, was ever arrested, in his downward course, by the mere sense of duty or fear? What proof is there in history of any essential moral reformation among men, where Christ has not been "set forth, evidently crucified?" The unreasonableness and folly of sin have been standing themes in all times. Yet iniquity has reigned. Nations have grown worse as they have grown old; and God has swept them off together by a universal flood, or sunk them, one by one, in fearful succession. The history of the world is the history of nations perishing by their vices, and therefore, for their vices. When has such a thing been known as a people saved by a moral reformation? In the case of the Jews and of Christian nations alone.

The principle on which the efficiency of the gospel, considered as a means of moral renovation, depends, is not new. It is of frequent application in life. In the recovery of men from particular vices, we ordinarily address some strong feeling of the mind, upon which the predominant sin does not directly act. We appeal, for example, to personal friendship, to filial affection, to paternal or conjugal love. When the fear of God, when all sense of duty and self-respect have lost their power, a father's voice may be heard. When even this voice, associated necessarily with something of austerity, has failed, there will sometimes linger a charm in the dear name of sister, mother, to hold the ear and curb the passions of infuriate youth. Signal instances of recovery from intemperance, bear testimony to the persuasive influence of conjugal patience. The meek submission and unconquered love of an abused wife have been able to rouse the sleeping sensibilities, and summon into action every surviving energy of the poor victim of his lusts, whom every other friend had abandoned to his fate. On the same principle, the gospel addresses the objects of its mercy. The Son of God assumes the character of a friend; lays aside the terrors of the Godhead; puts off the sternness of the judge; leaves the throne; takes our own nature; bears with our infirmities; endures our scorn; weeps over our miseries and stubborn guilt, knocking at the doors of our hearts, until his locks are wet with the dew; and finally submits to a cruel death, at our own hands, that *we* might live. In this whole scene there is something so extraordinary, so entirely beyond and above all that we see or read of in human character—such amazing condescension, such unaffected concern even



for enemies ; such tenderness and sympathy—all united with an intelligence so vast, an acquaintance with other worlds so awful, a penetration into human hearts so irresistible—that no man can think soberly of it, unmoved. No man can easily think lightly of his spiritual interests and relations, who feels himself to be addressed in the gospel of the Son of God. No man can quietly repose upon his pillow, who listens for an hour to the strangely sweet, but awful and prophetic voice of Jesus Christ. The king trembles ; the poor Indian turns from the chase to listen ; the stupid Hottentot is roused to think. Thus the gospel is “the power of God and the wisdom of God to salvation ;” and lays the only foundation for any certain and permanent influence over the civil and social, as well as moral destinies of man.

Another important lesson inculcated by ecclesiastical history, and, in some measure involved in the preceding, though worthy of distinct notice, is that Christianity is, in principle, and has been, in fact, the fast friend and the only safe foundation of civil liberty.

It has been the policy of a set of writers of no mean fame, to bring the clergy and the church into disgrace, and to hold them up to popular detestation, as the secret enemies of civil liberty. It cannot be denied, however, that, although Christ enjoined obedience to the civil magistrate, under an iron despotism, he taught great principles of right and duty, upon which no such thing as despotism, civil or religious, can stand for a single day ; and which will, inevitably, if they prevail, make every nation free. The great doctrine of a moral equality among men—of the sacredness of human life—of individual moral accountability to God and to God alone—and of a future life—how can men receive these doctrines, and despise, or enslave, or destroy one another ?

Christianity teaches us to govern men as God made them to be governed, by reason and conscience. In order to make patriots and good citizens, it seeks to make good men. It raises the fabric of public morals and happiness upon the basis of domestic and private virtue. It supposes a man to love his country, because that country contains something worthy of his love ; to respect its laws, because they are reasonable laws ; to abstain from violence and fraud, and every other crime, for conscience' sake and in the fear of God. In short she gives to every man the rank, and lays on him the responsibilities of a rational and moral being. And

wherever these principles have been adopted, man has been free, and just in proportion as they have been adopted. This the student of ecclesiastical history knows; and it cannot but be regretted, that so much of our civil history overlooks a fact, which gives to the annals of the modern world their most striking peculiarity.

The Christian clergy and the church, enemies to liberty! What was their great struggle through nearly the whole of the first three centuries for? Was it not for liberty? liberty of person and liberty of conscience? for the right to think as they pleased, and to teach what they thought; and to do as they chose, so be they interfered not with the rights of others? For what did they flee to deserts and mountains? and from what did they flee?

During the Anglo-Saxon period of English history, "the political effects of Christianity," says Sharon Turner, "were as good as they could be in that age of darkness; but it must be confessed that they were not so beneficial as its individual influence; and yet we are indebted to it for chivalry and the high-minded tone of spirit and character which that produced. We owe to its professors all the improvement that we have derived from the civil law, which they discovered, revived, explained and patronized. Nor has Christianity been unserviceable to our constitutional liberty: every battle which the churchman fought against the king or noble, was for the advantage of general freedom."

At the memorable meeting of "the *prelates* and barons of the kingdom," at which it was agreed to demand of king John their lost privileges, and which resulted in the signing of "the Great Charter of the liberties of England," an *archbishop* "led the storm." We glory in the reformation, as a great advance in the cause of human liberty; and most justly. But who led the way in the reformation? Clergymen and members of the church. It was a reformation in the church, brought about by the spirit of liberty in its own bosom. The first martyrs to that spirit were ministers and their adherents. Wickliffe, and Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and Luther, were all divines. Was not the Puritan a friend of liberty? To whom but the clergy and their followers, do we owe our own free institutions? We have no sympathy with clerical usurpation; no toleration for ecclesiastical pride and luxury and indolence. But let the church and its ministers have their due. They have not eradicated

tyranny and iniquity. They have too often indulged and fostered it. But let the mass of free sentiment, of liberal feeling, which has been expressed by the human mind, be ascribed to its true authors; let the sacrifices of personal interest and of life, in the cause of liberty, be estimated; let the clergy and the Christian world have the credit of what belongs to them; and we have no reason, as freemen, to be ashamed of the gospel or the history of its followers.

The only other advantage of this history, which can now be mentioned, is that it explains the enigma of human life. It is necessary to give unity to the picture of the world. It furnishes the central point of observation of the divine Providence. What means this strange succession of events? this rapid progress towards perfection, and this sudden blasting of human hopes? this perpetual circle of changes, by which man is continually coming round to the point from which he started? The gospel alone gives the answer, and its history is the voice of Providence attesting its truth, and enforcing it upon our attention—it is to bring man, by the disappointment of all his own schemes of happiness, and the manifest unsatisfactoriness of all other good, to his primeval confidence and rest in God.

3. This branch of history is, also, full of encouragement to the friends of the human race.

What philanthropist has not felt his heart sink within him, whenever he has attempted to infer the destiny of man from his past history? What is the language inscribed upon the tombs of deceased nations? Any thing, certainly, but that of hope and encouragement. History saw the earth twice peopled anew by the Almighty in the first four thousand years; and the career of national glory and decay twice run, through twenty centuries, in the richest and most propitious portions of our globe. And standing, with her foot upon the ruins of two worlds, she proclaimed the solemn lesson, gathered from their annals, that "Death hath passed upon all" *nations*—that a nation hath not power over her spirit to retain it. In modern times, too, empires have come forth in the bloom of youth, have grown to the maturity and glory of manhood, and, anon, are seen in "the sear and yellow leaf of age."

But with all that is painful and disheartening, modern history is full of promise also. There has been a substantial advancement in society; a manifest tendency to base all insti-

tutions on reason and right feeling. There is more harmony of interests and of action among the different communities of the world; more respect for what Tacitus calls the "*conscientiam humani generis*." The increasing aversion to war and to slavery; the zeal with which intellectual improvement and social and domestic happiness are sought; and the strong light thrown upon every subject of real interest to man—all indicate a new and peculiar state of things, and encourage us to hope for a development of the energies and virtues of which the mind is capable, not easy to be computed. It is needless to remark, that what is new in this state of human affairs, is chiefly owing to the Christian religion. This is generally conceded. What was said by Chateaubriand, twenty years ago, would need to be greatly enlarged, to adapt it to the present period. May it not be said, that, within these twenty years, the most prominent movements of society are obvious and unquestionable indications of prodigious activity of Christian principle?

"There are computed to be," says the eloquent writer just alluded to, "on the surface of Christian Europe, about 4,300 towns and villages. Of these 4,300 towns and villages, 3,294 are of the first, second, third, and fourth rank. Allowing one hospital to each of these 3,294 places, (which is far below the truth,) you will have 3,294 hospitals, almost all founded by the spirit of Christianity, endowed by the church, and attended by religious orders. Supposing that, upon an average, each of these hospitals contains a hundred beds, or, if you please, fifty beds for two patients each, you will find that religion, exclusively of the immense number of poor which she supports, has daily dispensed relief and subsistence for more than a thousand years, to about 329,400 persons.

On summing up the colleges and universities, we find nearly the same results; and we may safely assert that they afford instruction to at least 300,000 youths in the different countries of Christendom. In this statement we have not included either the Christian hospitals and colleges in the other three quarters of the globe, or the females educated by the nuns.

To these results may now be added the catalogue of the celebrated men produced by the church, who form nearly two thirds of the distinguished characters of modern times; we must repeat, as we have shown, that to the church we owe

the revival of the arts, sciences and letters; that to her are due most of the great modern discoveries, as gunpowder, clocks, the mariner's compass, and the representative system; that agriculture, and commerce, the laws and the science of government, are under innumerable obligations to her; that her missions introduced the arts and sciences among civilized nations, and laws among savage tribes; that her institution of chivalry powerfully contributed to save Europe from an invasion of new barbarians; that to her mankind is indebted for

The worship of one God;

The more firm establishment of the doctrine of the existence of that supreme Being;

The more thorough conviction of the immortality of the soul, and also of a future state of rewards and punishments;

A more enlarged and active humanity;

A whole and perfect virtue, and, which alone is equivalent to all the others—charity;

A political law and the law of nations, unknown to the ancients, and, above all, the abolition of slavery."

To look more directly at the history of Christianity; it presents a new and most encouraging picture of benevolent effort.

The idea of a mission of love to distant nations originated with the divine Author of the gospel. It is a humble imitation of his own visit of mercy to our world. The sages of Greece travelled to Egypt to learn, not to teach; to obtain, not to impart good. Heathen Rome was content to subdue Britain for the glory of conquest and her precious metals ("Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ"); it was a Christian bishop, who exclaimed as he saw her fair sons in the slave market, "What a pity, that such a beauteous frontispiece should possess a mind so void of internal graces!" It was a monk, who carried into execution the philanthropic resolution of the bishop, that "the praise of the creating Deity must be sung in these regions." The minister of the gospel, the missionary of the cross, has been the pioneer of civilization, of domestic happiness, of good morals, and a pure worship of the true God, in all the nations who have risen from barbarism to refinement in modern times.

This great change, this practical adoption of the divine maxim, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," is the

more animating to the hopes of the philanthropist, because what has been already effected, is so much the result of *individual* enterprise, and individual perseverance. It is an exalted commentary on the power of a single mind, devoted to a worthy object. It opens the prospect of certain, and, it may be, of unlimited usefulness to every man, who feels a conscious energy of thought, and is warmed by the holy fire of a benevolent enthusiasm. Paul, with personal disadvantages, and an unpopular cause, in the expressive language of his enemies "turned the world upside down." Wickliffe, when his spirit was stirred within him by the iniquities of the times, gave utterance to his indignation in the language of simple but living truth, that shook the foundations of ecclesiastical imposture to their centre. His writings, carried to the university of Prague, converted John Huss, the Reformer of Bohemia. The sermons of Huss, finding their way into a convent at Erfurd, and falling into the hands of Martin Luther, "led him," says Sharon Turner, "to become the Reformer of Germany." Whitefield is admitted, by those who have no sympathy with his religious views, not only to have roused the spirit of piety from its slumbers in England and America, but to have quickened, in his remoter influences, the entire mass of English mind, and given a bolder and stronger character to the national literature. Howard opened the dungeons of Europe to the light of Christian charity; Clarkson gave an impulse to the cause of African emancipation, which will be followed up, till every slave is permitted to go free.

Men have only to see and feel their individual rights in a righteous cause, in the cause of truth and of heaven, and we can set no bounds to the ultimate results of the benevolent energies already enlisted in favor of the human race. The records of the church strikingly teach what man has done, and therefore what he may do.

To those who regard religion as itself the great good and end of man—and the world, as ultimately benefited; so far only as it has found repose and peace in God—the history of the church is, on another account, full of hope. It is true, there are great fluctuations in her history. The infidel has long sung his unholy triumph, upon the ruins of her first altars; and the seven churches of Asia exist only in the admonitory letter of St. John. And the unreflecting mind is apt to see, in these melancholy facts, only new instances

of the mutability of human things; new proofs of the caprices of fortune. But there is a deeper view of the subject; and one, which it becomes our own times to contemplate with serious attention.

"It is," says Paley, "an immense conclusion that there is a God." If so, there is a moral Governor; and a scheme of government. The history of the world is the development of this scheme, so far at least as we are interested. It would be strange, then, if even, without the aid of revelation, we were utterly unable to discover the drift and bearing of the divine Providence. But the Bible assures us, that the object is the one simple purpose of bringing back the soul of man to God. This it seeks to do by bringing God back to the soul—to *know* God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, is eternal life. Hence, it were to be expected of course, that history would be not only an illustration of the character of man, but a revelation of God, also, to man—a continued attestation to his being, and an unceasing admonition to us to return to Him, as our supreme good. That such is the character of all human history is a proposition too general to be easily demonstrated. Suffice it to say, that, if any greater object is discoverable in the wonderful course of human affairs, let the student of man point it out. An illustration of this general proposition, in a single instance, may be given in the case of the Jews.

The purpose to be accomplished was the revelation of God to the race of Abraham. To this, in one sense, all that was necessary was to write the divine law on tables of stone, and set them up before the eyes of the people. But who does not see, that this would have availed scarcely more than to hang a parchment, containing the gospels, in the temple of Juggernaut? Of what efficacy are words alone with such a people? Truth must be wrought into their minds by other discipline than that of rhetoric. Is not here the explanation of the strange series of events, preparatory to the establishment of the nation in the promised land? They answered the purposes of moral discipline to those immediately concerned in them. But were they not intended, also, to answer the higher purpose of furnishing materials for that singular fabric of civil government and religious worship, which was to maintain itself, and hold the people together as a peculiar and unmixed race, and through all their fortunes, bound to Jehovah and his institutions, with

a strength of attachment, that excited universal astonishment? On the circumstances, in their history, which seem most strange and unaccountable, such as the events in Egypt and the desert, are grounded all their characteristic observances and institutions. These facts inspire their national poetry, and are wrought into the whole texture of their literature; are made the subjects of parental instruction; are suggested by every object of interest that meets the eye. They are the key to the Jewish character. And what are they, after all, but most striking exhibitions of God, in circumstances to associate him with all the tender, and awful, and powerful recollections of a people? What are they but just such a revelation of God as that people needed, and could never wholly forget or disregard?

We see the same purpose pursued, on a larger scale, in the gospel. The object is, to work the conviction of the being and providence of God, into the constitution of man; to make the sense of dependence and responsibility, an essential principle of the mind; to bring its intellectual and moral powers into harmony with the divine government, that, in the bold language of the New Testament, we may *dwell in God and God in us*. This object might be effected by a word, as the world was created; but it would change the *nature* of man, *thus* to change his character. And we might as well expect an instantaneous and involuntary renovation of a single mind, as to look for any such sudden impression of God upon the world at large. "The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come," is no unfit representation of the series of contests and triumphs by which the religion of Christ is gaining possession of the kingdoms of this world. Nothing can be inferred, as to the result, from the rise or decline of individual communities of Christians, or particular forms of Christianity. It would be as safe to argue the prospects of "the pilgrim," from his struggles in the "slough of despond." The intention of Providence is not to build up this or that form of worship, or to perpetuate the divine worship, in any form, in this or that place; it is rather to unfold and impress upon men the real nature and claims of the gospel. The history of the church, is, therefore, a history of successive triumphs in the contest of faith with hydra-headed unbelief.

To infer the issue of the conflict from its progress hitherto, we must endeavor to ascertain what points have been carried;



what positions have been maintained ; what victories will not need to be gained over again. If in this survey of the protracted conflict, the ground is seen to be constantly narrowing, the points of attack and defence gradually becoming fewer and fewer ; if amidst all the skillful shifting of scenes and changes of attitude, the enemy is evidently urged to the extremity of risking every thing in 'one decisive battle, against fearful odds, and without retreat—we have room for something more than conjecture as to the result.

Let the history of Christianity speak for itself on this subject, and her friends may lift up their heads. In what great controversy has she not signally triumphed ? The writer of the Acts has briefly narrated her first successes. The crucifixion itself, which the enemies of the Saviour regarded as the annihilation of the sect, was in fact the corner stone of the Christian edifice. After the ascension, the Jewish sanhedrim, failing to intimidate the apostles by threats, are about to proceed to violence ; 'when the *people*, who had stood silent or exulted, at the crucifixion, now interpose ; and the persecutors are checked. But miracle was multiplied upon miracle ; all Jerusalem were bringing their sick and possessed of the devil to be healed by the wonder-working preachers of the new religion. The rulers were filled with indignation ; imprisoned the apostles ; assembled the whole senate ; worked themselves up to a defiance of the popular voice ; sent for the helpless victims of their revenge ; and lo, it was announced, "The men, whom ye put in prison, are standing in the temple, and teaching the people." The exasperated senate ordered them to be again seized, and brought into their presence, resolved, no doubt, to put them to instant death. "Then stood there one up in the *council*, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation of all the people ;" and again they were defeated. Thus ended the first attack upon the apostles.

The persecution which arose about Stephen, was suffered to proceed so far as to effect the divine purpose in scattering the disciples abroad, and was then terminated, by the remarkable *conversion* of the leading man in it, the determined and indefatigable Saul of Tarsus. Soon, however, the consternation, produced by this event, wore off from the public mind ; and Herod the king, "to please the Jews," for the first time, enlisted the *civil* authority in the cause of the persecutors. He killed James, and imprisoned Peter. The

day was fixed for the public execution of the latter. But on the very night before he was to "be brought forth to the people," "the Lord sent his angel, and delivered the apostle from the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews." The crafty monarch, to conceal the cause of his defeat, put the keepers of the prison to death. While thus preserving his credit, and filling his ears with the idolatrous adulation of the multitude, "the angel of the Lord smote him upon his throne, and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost. But the word of God," adds the sacred historian, with just exultation, "*grew and was multiplied.*"

The next great contest of the gospel was with the philosophy and civil power of the Roman empire. The struggle was a long one—"multa prœlia, et aliquando non incruenta." The disparity of the parties was all but infinite—a stripling with a sling and a stone, going out to meet the Philistine of Gath; the untitled and undisciplined followers of "the crucified malefactor," arrayed against the acuteness and wit of Greece, the throne and armies of the empress of the world. It was a conflict of thrilling interest; and the issue long in suspense. But philosophy at length came, and humbled herself before the cross of Jesus; and the majesty of Rome knelt down at his feet.

Then came, in the lapse of ages, a yet severer trial to the church. She had conquered Judaism and Paganism. It was now to be decided, whether she could control herself. And, certainly, if there is a passage of utter darkness in her history, it is that which ensued upon her brilliant triumph over the reasonings and the power of the pagan world. But here, also, she was victorious. Internal disorder could no more prove fatal, than external violence. The Reformation was her own work; and is a glorious proof, that when she sleepeth, she is not dead.

Out of the Reformation itself, in some degree, grew a new and appalling form of opposition—the modern Infidel philosophy. The exposure of real and enormous wickedness, under the cloak of religion, was eagerly made the occasion of assailing all pretensions to religion as hypocritical. The abuses of it, became an imposing argument against its truth. Men of the greatest ability in Europe conspired to extirpate it. Its friends were shocked and dismayed, not only at the talent and eloquence employed against them, but still more at the apparent success and rude triumph of their foes.

Europe was deluged with skeptical opinions. Inquiry began to be made into the grounds of our faith in revelation, and the result was the entire discomfiture of infidelity. It may be safely said, that the masterly treatises upon the Evidences of Christianity, to which this great controversy gave rise, have placed those evidences upon a solid basis. Infidelity was fairly driven from the field; and no man of character, enough to merit reply, now appears to maintain the argument in her favor.

The present attitude of the world in relation to this subject, is singular, and singularly trying to the faith of reflecting Christians. While the argument for revelation is so clear as to admit of no reply, (for we cannot dignify a splenetic newspaper effusion, or dirty pamphlet, with this name,) there is, at the same time, a strange insensibility to its force. Men look upon the case as fairly made out; but with idle wonder only, or a secret misgiving that all may not be right. That a "notable miracle hath been wrought," they "cannot deny," and yet feel not the slightest emotion. If the writer of this article is not greatly deceived, this is precisely the condition of many of the thinking men of our own country and of other countries. In this state of things, although the history of the church forbids despair, regard for the cause of human happiness calls upon us to ask anxiously after a remedy. And it may not be presumptuous in the writer to suggest, that as the gospel is in its very nature a RELIEF system, a BALM, the great point to be aimed at is not so much conviction of its *truth*, as consciousness of its *necessity*. The character of our times is calling for no shallow declamations; no fine sentiments; no pretty sentences—but, for what the divines of the seventeenth century have given us examples, a thorough disclosure of the inner man. We need to be made to feel, not only that religion is a good thing, and a duty; but that it is a necessary good—that without it we cannot *die*, because, without it, we cannot LIVE.

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## ARTICLE VI.

MORAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LIFE AND WORKS  
OF BYRON.

*Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life.* By Thomas Moore. In two volumes. New York: J. & J. Harper.

ON a first perusal of the Life of Byron, we are struck with surprise, that a character like his should have excited so deep an interest in ourselves and others. It is one utterly destitute of moral principle, and yet we are most deeply interested in all its developments and undertakings. We gaze on it somewhat as men, from a distance, gaze upon what is dangerous. There is an emotion of sublimity produced, which though mingled with pain, still gives us pleasure. And the philosophy of the feeling seems to be this:—We discover in the character we contemplate, some fine traits of social affection, and some bursts of imagination, and some noble instances of generosity, which cast a halo around its darkness, and—to change the figure—like the ivy around ruins, would be less striking, if they did not encircle decay.

Such characters are not uncommon, though they are often found on a much smaller scale. What is more, they are as dangerous as they are common; and it is because we would guard against their influence, that we have recorded their danger here. “Such is human nature”—was the language of Mr. Webster, in his speech during the trial of Knapp, for murder—“that some persons lose their abhorrence of crime, in their admiration of its magnificent exhibitions. Ordinary vice is reprobated by them; but extraordinary guilt, exquisite wickedness, the high flights and poetry of crime, seize on the imagination, and lead them to forget the depths of the guilt, in admiration of the excellence of the performance, or the unequalled atrocity of the purpose. There are those in our day, who have made great use of this infirmity of our nature; and by means of it done infinite injury to the cause of good morals. They have affected not only the taste, but I fear also the principles, of the young, the heed-

less, and the imaginative, by the exhibition of interesting and beautiful monsters. They render depravity attractive, sometimes by the polish of its manners, and sometimes by its very extravagance ; and study to show off crime, under all the advantages of cleverness and dexterity." As the first moral reflection, then, upon Mr. Moore's life of lord Byron—a reflection which arises also from the contemplation of the insinuating biographer himself—we would say, let us take care of the false splendor, which a bad man, who knows human nature, is able often to throw around him by the manifestation of some noble traits of natural feeling, or the brilliant coruscations of a splendid genius. To use one of Mr. Moore's best figures, such characters are—

" Like dead-sea fruits, which tempt the eye,—  
But turn to poison, on the lips."

There is another reflection strongly suggested by this biography, and in making it, we shall exhibit to our readers some illustrations from the work itself:—It is the influence of a vicious life upon the faculty of memory. We have often wondered at the tendency of a certain class of sentimental writers, with whom we are somewhat acquainted, and for whose moral characters we cannot, even in the judgment of charity, have any respect, to be continually dwelling with a kind of morbid tenacity upon scenes which have passed, although the recurrence seems, at the same time, to cost them much pain. It would seem, on reading many of their effusions, that they could find no resting-place for the sole of their foot, except somewhere amid the by-gone scenes of childhood, by the side of their mother's knee, or amid the ruins of scenes of pleasure and comparative innocence now gone forever. In the course of quotations from lord Byron's writings, in the two volumes before us, we have been peculiarly struck with this tendency. In almost every poetic quotation made by Mr. Moore, we find the troubled soul of the noble poet flying back to such past and happy scenes, as the dove, driven back by the waters, sought a shelter and retreat in the ark. We give some specimens. They are interesting on account of the poetry which they contain, as well as because they are illustrations of our remark.

"Oh memory, torture me no more,  
The present's all o'ercast;  
My hopes of future bliss are o'er,  
In mercy veil the past.

Why bring those images to view  
I henceforth must resign?  
Ah! why those happy hours renew,  
That never can be mine?

Past pleasure doubles present pain,  
To sorrow adds regret,—  
Regret and hope are both in vain,  
I ask but to——forget."

On leaving England for his first tour on the continent, he spared no pains to obtain the likenesses of some of his most valued early friends. And, "in this romantic design of collecting together the portraits of his school friends," says his biographer, "we see the natural working of an ardent and disappointed heart, which, as the future began to darken upon it, clung with fondness to the recollections of the past, and in despair of finding new and true friends, saw no happiness but in preserving all it could of the old."

There is a beautiful allusion to the pains of memory in his published poems:—

"I thought with sorrow, time could cope,  
But this I found would ne'er be true,—  
For, by the death-blow of my hope,  
My memory immortal grew."

This sentiment is as philosophically true, as it is poetically beautiful. What is more, in our own estimation, it is religiously true. For, why did the memory of Byron, in these, and in numerous other instances, dwell with such tenacity on the past?—No doubt, this tendency is to be partly attributed to the fact that it is the nature of the human mind to retain strongly the impressions of its earlier existence. But, if we mistake not, the lines we have quoted, illustrate a principle developed in the workings of moral character, which it is of no little importance to bear in mind. There is a proneness in human nature, when the soul finds no peace in the consciousness of present guilt, to fly back, on the wing of memory, and gain for itself at least a partial repose, amid scenes of comparative innocence. It

is this, if we mistake not, which rendered the soul of Byron, like the souls of many of his servile imitators, so constantly anxious to go back, and rest amid the scenes of childhood and youth. Hope is frightened back by despair, as she looks down the vista of futurity, and the soul, prevented by guilt, with her lash of scorpions, from enjoying the present, had rather be the companion of memory, amid the bowers of the past. In a dry and thirsty land, where no water is, it is sweet to go back, and walk through green pastures, by the side of still waters. There can be no doubt indeed, that a virtuous mind, on principles far different from those we have been exposing, experiences great delight, in looking back, and in the beautiful language of holy writ, remembering all the way that the Lord hath led it. But, there is mingled with such recollections none of that morbid melancholy which paralyzes present and virtuous activity, and darkens and weighs down the mind by a gloomy and fiend-like misanthropy. The glance which it takes of the past, like the reckoning of the mariner upon the ocean, produces a cheerful and healthy determination to put forth new exertions for the attainment of the haven which "is nearing." And the soul, forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those which are before, presses toward the mark, for the prize of its high calling.

Mr. Moore remarks that it was a peculiar trait in the character of his noble friend, to make himself often appear worse than he really was, by letting fall, in conversation and in writing, expressions which seemed to indicate that he had been guilty of crimes greater than were known of him by others, and to which the imaginations of his hearers or readers might add whatever hue of blackness they pleased. Of the existence of this trait in lord Byron, there is no doubt. It is seen in the following lines from *Childe Harold*, in which it is allowed that the poet would paint an image of himself:—

"Yet ofttimes in his maddest mirthful mood,  
Strange pangs would flash along Childe Harold's brow,  
As if the memory of some deadly feud  
Or disappointed passion lurk'd below.  
But this none knew, or hap'ly car'd to know ;  
For his was not that open, artless soul  
That feels relief by bidding sorrow flow,  
Nor sought he friend to counsel or condole  
Whate'er this grief mote be, which he could not control."

There are several thoughts suggested by this habit of mind in lord Byron, which ought not to pass unexpressed, in any thing which pretends to be a moral analysis of his character, and we shall therefore record them here. It is a striking exemplification of a tendency in human nature, when it has grossly sinned, to make the frank confession of guilt a kind of excuse for continuing to commit iniquity:—Like the drunkard, who often acknowledges the guilt of his disgusting habit with frankness, perhaps with tears, and derives from that very acknowledgment a license to indulge in intemperance. Or, like the irreligious man, who, by openly avowing his respect for religion, and his conviction of its necessity, frequently obtains from the pious themselves the credit of being amiable, and then goes on in the indulgence of his sins, almost with their approbation. Now who does not see, in these manifestations of error, an unintentional homage paid to the majesty of truth? Who does not see, in this habit so common with lord Byron, of indicating, mysteriously, that he had been guilty of crimes greater than were known of him, an homage paid to virtue, in the fact, that truth is acknowledged as the standard of conduct, in the very silence which dares not to mention the enormity of crime? It is this which is so often pleasing to us in the words and actions of wicked men. It is Lucifer, for one short moment, adoring. It is Satan changing himself into an angel of light. It is wickedness acknowledging what is true, in the midst of its highest enormity,—and such is the power of truth, that we become pleased with the acknowledgment, and are almost willing, ere we are aware of it, to conclude that it cancels crime. Here, we are persuaded, lies one of the springs of that mighty influence, which the character and writings of lord Byron have exerted over the public mind. It is in this way, that to use the expression of Curran concerning him, "*his lordship weeps for the press, and wipes his eyes with the public.*" There is a tacit acknowledgment of the principles of eternal truth, in the very ravings of his reckless departure from those principles. When he tells us that he has committed unutterable crimes, he says, in other language, that he is ashamed of crime; and that he knows he is wrong. There is such a pleasure in this acknowledgment, that we begin to look upon it as a kind of atonement for iniquity. To revert to our illustration;—it is the drunkard, saying, in the language of melancholy bitterness,



I know that I am acting madly. It is the profane unbeliever in practice, acknowledging truth in theory, and crying, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." Who does not know that multitudes of instances of this kind burst forth in the writings of lord Byron? One of the most interesting among all of them is found in that letter which he wrote to a gentleman in England, who had forwarded to him a prayer which he had found recorded among the papers of a deceased wife, in behalf of lord Byron's spiritual welfare. He writes,

"I am obliged to you for your good wishes, and more than obliged by the extract from the papers of the beloved object whose qualities you have so well described in a few words. I can assure you, that all the same which ever cheated humanity into higher notions of its own importance, would never weigh in my mind against the pure and pious interest which a virtuous being may be pleased to take in my welfare. In this point of view, I would not exchange the prayer of the deceased in my behalf, for the united glory of Homer, Cæsar, and Napoleon, could such be accumulated upon a living head. Do me at least the justice to suppose, that

'Video meliora proboque,'

however the 'deteriora sequor' may be applied to my conduct.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your obliged and obedient servant,

"BYRON."

Even criticism is disarmed of its acumen, as it reads such an interesting acknowledgment as this. And yet, in the very sympathy which it creates, lies the greatest danger to which it exposes; and we have no doubt that the frankness which breathes in the sentence of the heathen poet, has contributed to the ruin of many a thoughtless, though gifted mind.

This biography of Byron presents also, in several extracts which it gives from his writings, a striking illustration of the possibility of indulging and expressing high and correct views of the natural attributes of the Deity, without any conformity to his moral character. One instance of this kind occurs in a short poem entitled "The Prayer of Nature." We shall make but a brief extract:—

"Father of Light! great God of Heaven!

Hear'st thou the accents of despair?

Can guilt like man's be e'er forgiven?

Can vice alone for crimes by prayer?

Father of light, on thee I call !  
Thou seest my soul is dark within ;  
Thou who canst mark the sparrow's fall,  
Avert from me the death of sin.

No shrine I seek, to sects unknown,  
Oh point me to the path of truth !  
Thy dread omnipotence I own,  
Spare, yet amend the faults of youth.

Let bigots rear a gloomy fane,  
Let superstition hail the pile,  
Let priests to spread their sable reign,  
With tales of mystic rites beguile.

Shall man confine his Maker's away  
To Gothic domes of mouldering stone ?  
Thy temple is the face of day ;  
Earth, ocean, heaven, thy boundless throne.

Father ! no prophet's laws I seek,—  
*Thy* laws in Nature's works appear ;—  
I own myself corrupt and weak,  
Yet will I pray, for thou wilt hear !

Thou, who canst guide the wandering star,  
Through trackless realms of *Æther's* space ;  
Who calm'st the elemental war,  
Whose hand from pole to pole I trace :—

Thou, who in wisdom, placed me here,  
Who, when thou wilt, can take me hence,  
Ah ! while I tread this earthly sphere,  
Extend to me thy wide defence."

Were we disposed to sermonize here, we think we have a good subject for a discourse, and indeed we have often wondered that our divines did not more frequently notice this merely intellectual adoration of the Deity, in distinction from those moral affections which proceed from the love of his moral attributes, as it develops itself in many minds, particularly in some poets and philosophical writers. But as this is neither the time nor the place for a homily on this subject, we shall content ourselves with barely noticing the fact, and then leaving it to the meditations of our readers. Nothing can be more evident than that many writers of splendid talents, and high, and in many respects correct views of the beautiful and sublime, have been remarkable for

the grandeur of their conceptions of the natural attributes of Jehovah, as well as for their expression of many of those natural emotions which the contemplation of such attributes is calculated to call forth ; while their moral characters have been far from what they ought to have been, and in most instances, were flagrantly bad. Thomas Paine himself might be cited as an instance of the truth of this remark. Lord Byron is an instance of a more refined and noble kind ; but he is one in whom the same principle is fully developed. There are many passages in his writings, where there are bursts of high and sublime ideas of God, which had they been connected with as high and sublime ideas of the glory of his moral attributes, and accompanied with corresponding moral feelings, would have left lord Byron to be honored by future ages, as one, who like the Roman warriors after victory, came forth laden with the "spolia opima" of genius, and hung them as the trophies of his prowess, upon the column of eternal truth. But he has not done this. It would have required on his part, a self-denial, and a meek endurance of the cross, which he was unwilling to exercise. His poetry will not live so long as if he had done it. For, in the literary, as truly as in the moral world, the righteous only shall be held in everlasting remembrance. We do not affirm that so far as his high ideas of the natural attributes of the Deity, accompanied with their corresponding emotions, have been truly expressed, they will not be admired. We do not mean to affirm that besides these, there are not in his writings true and mighty exhibitions of the workings of human nature in its stormiest passions, and thrilling and melting expressions of its softer emotions. We do not mean to affirm that, dissect him as you may with the keen knife of moral criticism, there will not be found still the "disiecta membra" of a great poet. But, we do mean to record it as our opinion, that for want of the salt of moral principle, his works, great as they may be in these respects, will present, at last, only a body of corruption which in the lapse of years shall entirely decay ; and that on this account, such works as Cowper's will be read, when those of Byron are forgotten. In the literary, as truly as in the moral world, error will inevitably fall into the extreme of an effeminate sentimentalism on the one hand, or of a raging and unnatural fanaticism on the other : it is only truth, which can so preserve the even tenor of her way, as to walk in the strait and

narrow path that leadeth unto life. As an illustration as well as corroboration of these remarks, we cannot but present our readers with the contrast exhibited between those views of God as seen in his works, expressed by Byron in the prayer of nature from which we have quoted; and those represented by Cowper in his *Task* as the meditations of "the freeman whom the truth makes free." In the one, there is manifested a kind of unhappy skepticism and misanthropy which evinces that the soul is restless even in prayer; in the other, there is the calm, sweet, yet dignified and firm composure of a mind filled with all joy and peace in believing.

"He looks abroad into the varied field  
Of nature, and though poor, perhaps, compar'd  
With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,  
Calls the delightful scenery all his own.  
His are the mountains, and the vallies his,  
And the resplendent rivers. His t' enjoy  
With a propriety that none can feel,  
But who, with filial confidence inspir'd,  
Can lift to heav'n an unpresumptuous eye,  
And smiling say—'My Father made them all.'"

While upon this part of our subject, we would venture one other remark:—There is every reason to believe, from many passages which might be cited from the work before us, as well as from other sources of information, of which, were it necessary, we might avail ourselves, that his lordship was one of that class of writers, who rely much for the energy of their writings, upon the excitement which is produced by strong physical stimuli. If all the whispers we have heard, are true, there are literary and even moral writers, both in this country and in Europe, who are not entire strangers to this deleterious habit. To our own mind, it appears to be very probable, if not quite true, that either poets, or orators, or writers in prose, who rely for inspiration upon any unnatural excitement of the physical system, thus produced by artificial means, will not, in the nature of things, live long. The peculiarity of their ideas, the tremendous, bold, perhaps blasphemous flights of their imaginations may, and probably will, excite attention and produce sublime admiration, for a time, but when the public mind shall have returned to the realities of truth, such men must die. They are like awful meteors—gazed on, admired, and often feared

for a moment, but they must soon go out in darkness. The marks they leave upon society, like the relics of such bright but bursting phenomena of nature, will be but the ashes and the cinders of intense and consuming fires of passion. It is only the poet, it is only the orator, it is only the writer of any kind whatever, who, in the calm self-possession of a sound mind in a sound body, looks at things as they are, and binds down all his theories to sober fact, by the ligaments of truth, who will live and be read, long after he shall have departed from the scenes of earth, and his hand shall have mouldered amid the clods of the valley. There is an emotion of the morally sublime produced in our mind, as we thus contemplate the calm and sure triumph of truth over error in the history of man. After all the dark and disastrous tempests of human passions, which have been, and are still often aroused, for a season, by the restlessness of unholy, and therefore disordered minds; it is a sweet and heavenly sight, to behold meek-eyed, mild, benignant truth, emerging from amid all the turmoil, and like the beautiful star of night, shining forth, clearly and brightly, after the tempest has departed.

There is yet another subject connected with this biography of Byron, and, like other points on which we treat, having some bearing upon the biographer himself, which claims a degree of our attention. We allude to the tendency of the work, throughout, to merge the reprehension which is due to vice, in the admiration with which we regard exalted talents. If we mistake not the signs of the times, this single habit of mind, so much encouraged by Mr. Moore, throughout the whole of this work, and too often encouraged also by leading literary men of purer moral principles, is one which threatens no little danger to the welfare of the community. While we wish never to cultivate that spirit of censoriousness which is unwilling to acknowledge and admire talent, wherever it exists; still we have no idea of embracing any one, whatever talents he may possess, in the arms of such a mistaken charity, as shall evince to those, over whom our example may have any influence, that for the sake of great intellectual powers, we are willing to excuse, if we do not love, the enormity of vice itself. And we solemnly protest, as those who may have some power, by means of the press, in the formation and preservation of the public character, against this habit of exalting vicious talent above the de-

mands of moral law. We would reprobate, if we could, in tones of condemnation, which should be heard far, and remembered long, this tendency, in whatever form it may be manifested, whether in the department of poetry or politics, to forget the blackness of private character, in the splendor of public talents or public services. We have no sympathy with him who would speak of the conduct of lord Byron in Italy, and particularly of what Shelly is pleased to call, in the technical language of refined, European depravity—"his permanent sort of *liaison* with the contessa Guiccioli," in any other terms than those of the most, unqualified condemnation. And when Mr. Moore, however he may reprehend it occasionally, and apparently to save his credit, still treats of it, in the general tenor of his remarks, as a light thing, and endeavors to render it almost commendable, if not worthy of imitation; we are disposed to think concerning him, with Montgomery, that were there less of this winking at gross vice in his writings, "the name of the bard would never have been degraded under that of Little, much less under that of Moore."

It is in keeping with this part of our review, and forms an appropriate introduction to the final remarks we have to make on it, to dwell, for a moment, on the very different aspect which the character of lord Byron assumes in this biography, the moment he emerges from a life of selfish and guilty enjoyment, to one of comparative usefulness and benevolence. This is, to some extent the case, even when in Italy, he begins to take a part in the transactions of those, who, from whatever motives, were anxious to do something for the cause of liberty. But, when he leaves his wretched paramour, and begins to labor for the independence of Greece, what a change do we immediately perceive in the style of his letters, and in the tenor of his conversation, and in the nature of his acts! He, who was a little while before the besotted debauchee, becomes the comparatively dignified and energetic man; and, instead of telling us, in his journal or his letters, of a visit to the countess; or, at other times, of his eating to a surfeit, or drinking gin—he writes thus:—

"Awake! (not Greece—she is awake!)  
Awake my spirit! think through *whom*  
Thy life-blood tracks its parent lake,  
And then strike home!

Tread those reviving passions down  
Unworthy manhood!—unto thee  
Indifferent should the smile or frown  
Of beauty be.

If thou regret'st thy youth, *why live?*  
The land of honorable death  
Is here :—up to the field, and give  
Away thy breath!

Seek out—less often sought than found—  
A soldier's grave, for thee the best;  
Then look around, and choose thy ground,  
And take thy rest!"

There breathes, indeed, throughout the whole of this last poem which lord Byron wrote, (however we may disapprove of some of its sentiments,) a melancholy and noble resolution to devote himself to something useful to man, and, at least externally, acceptable to God. The same spirit also manifests itself in his letters. He writes like one who has something to do, other than to indulge himself in sensuality. Were there time, we should like here to record a few thoughts on the connection which exists between moral character and the style of writing, which we believe to be founded upon fact, and which ought therefore to be regarded. Concerning two men of equal talents, in other respects, we should not hesitate to affirm, that he would express himself in a far more energetic, and clear, and noble manner, whether we regard the figures of speech, or the forms of expression he might use, who was an actively benevolent man, than he who was a selfish and a sinful one. The poetry and beautiful style of the Bible, become very interesting in this view. High and holy moral principle suggests strong and noble figurative language; while low and impure principles suggest that which is turgid on the one hand, or whining and effeminate on the other. The effect of moral character on literary taste, in this respect, is not, we fear, sufficiently considered. And, it is remarkable, that the pieces both of Moore and of Byron, which, in our opinion at least, will live longest, and contribute most to the reputation of each, are to be found in the sacred melodies of the one, and the Hebrew melodies of the other. The inspiration which indited both of them was drawn more from "Siloa's brook," than from the waters of Helicon.

Connected with this effect of moral character and conduct upon the style of writing, is the influence it also exerts upon the choice of company. Or, to express the idea we would convey, more correctly—the man who devotes himself to the accomplishment of some undertaking for the good of his fellow-creatures, even upon merely selfish principles, will be far more likely to fall into company which will improve him morally and intellectually, than he who lives a life of sensual and inactive indulgence. This was, to some extent, the case with lord Byron, even amid the bustle of military preparations for the assistance of Greece. The moment he stepped out of the debauchery of Italy, he fell into company with a sincere, though probably eccentric Christian—and of other persons willing to converse on religious subjects.

“The person,” says his biographer, “whose visits appeared to give him most pleasure, as well from the interest he took in the subject on which they chiefly conversed, as from the opportunities, sometimes, of pleasantry which the peculiarities of his visitor afforded him, was a medical gentleman, named Kennedy, who, from a strong sense of the value of religion to himself, had taken up the benevolent task of communicating his own light to others. The first origin of their intercourse was an undertaking on the part of this gentleman, to convert to a firm belief in Christianity some rather skeptical friends of his, then at Argostoli. Happening to hear of the meeting appointed for this purpose, lord Byron begged that he might be allowed to attend, saying to the person through whom he conveyed his request, ‘You know I am reckoned a black sheep—yet, after all, not so black as the world believes me.’ He had promised to convince Dr. Kennedy that, ‘though wanting, perhaps in faith, he at least had patience;’ but the process of so many hours of lecture—no less than twelve, without interruption, being stipulated for—was a trial beyond his strength; and, very early in the operation, as the doctor informs us, he began to show evident signs of a wish to exchange the part of hearer for that of speaker. Notwithstanding this, however, there was in all his deportment, both as listener and talker, such a degree of courtesy, candor, and sincere readiness to be taught, as excited interest, if not hope, for his future welfare in the good doctor; and though he never after attended the more numerous meetings, his conferences on the same subject, with Dr. Kennedy alone, were not unfrequent during the remainder of his stay at Cephalonia.

“These curious conversations are now on the eve of being



published, and to the value which they possess as a simple and popular exposition of the chief evidences of Christianity, is added the charm that must ever dwell round the character of one of the interlocutors, and the almost fearful interest attached to every word that, on such a subject, he utters. In the course of the first conversation, it will be seen that lord Byron expressly disclaimed being one of those infidels 'who deny the Scriptures, and wish to remain in unbelief.' On the contrary, he professed himself 'desirous to believe; as he experienced no happiness in having his religious opinions unfixed.'"

The conversations alluded to above have now been before the public for some time. It comports with our present design to make but two remarks concerning them, which shall close our observations on the publication before us.

It is very evident, even from the brief account which Mr. Moore has given of those conversations, as well as from what we have gathered by a cursory perusal of them, since their publication, that the attitude of mind assumed by lord Byron, throughout the time of their continuance, was that of a serious levity. It is upon this that we would first remark. There is a strong tendency in the human mind, when a subject solemnly true is pressed upon its attention, and yet to the proper influence of which it does not wish to yield, to endeavor to cast off, as far as possible, the unpleasant weight of responsibility which is thus thrown upon it, by indulging in an affected levity of word or action. It is on this principle that we account for many of those "bon mots," of which we read, uttered by condemned statesmen, and others, led to the block during the scenes of the French revolution, and recorded also on other bloody pages of the history of man. If, says a writer, these sayings of persons thus condemned, were gathered into a volume, they would form a melancholy jest-book of considerable dimensions. On the same principle, we account for that "foolish talking and jesting," concerning Charon and his boat, and conversations with Rhadamanthus in hell, recorded by Adam Smith, of his friend Hume, when lying on his dying bed, with the scenes of eternity just before him. We notice in these things, not what some would have us see, the triumph of infidelity, and its power to support what they falsely call a philosophical mind, on the brink of the grave; but a constrained levity, which betokens, even in an infidel, any thing but firmness; and betrays a mind ill at ease, in view of the solemn realities

which press, uncalled-for and unwelcomely, upon its meditations. We notice these, as well as other things dwelt upon in this article, as presenting another instance of the homage which error is often constrained to pay to the majesty of truth.

Now we have often seen this same principle develope itself in the conduct and conversation of men, on the subject of the Christian religion. We have often seen it used to parry the thrust which the "sword of the Spirit" aimed at the guilty conscience of man. These conversations of lord Byron with Dr. Kennedy develope it constantly. As we read them, we cannot but think of the mirth which Solomon calls the laughter which is mad—the laughter, in the midst of which the heart is sorrowful. In the extract we have made above, Byron "professed himself desirous to believe; as he experienced no happiness in having his religious opinions so unfixed." No one can read the conversations, without seeing, in the midst of an assumed levity, the pantings of a soul weary and heavy laden, seeking rest. And yet, there is no persevering exertion to find rest. The wish to believe, expressed in the language we have quoted, however sincere it may have been at the time, was but as the ripple excited for a moment, by the breath of heaven, upon the surface of a deep, strong current of worldliness, proceeding with silent, but overwhelming force, in an entirely opposite direction. A slight levity, like a beam of sunshine, played on it for a moment, but the tide still "ran in darkness and coldness below." In a word, lord Byron, like many others when conversing on the same subject, prevented the power of religion from approaching closely to his conscience and his heart, by a levity which kept it at a distance.

Our second remark on these conversations is one which interests our own mind, more than all which we have made; and the one which operated as the chief motive for presenting those which have been already expressed. It will be seen, perhaps, from what we have written—particularly from the thoughts we have ventured to write concerning the effects of a vicious life on the faculty of memory—the effect of moral character upon the style of writing, and upon the choice of company, as well as upon the manner in which we contemplate and speak of religious truth—that, throughout our observations, we have had principally in view, the adaptation of the religion of Christ to the faculties and emotions

of the human mind. It is with reference to this great, and interesting subject, that we are so deeply interested in all that concerns lord Byron, and especially in all that is recorded of him, in his biography, by Moore. We think we see in it some of the most appropriate and powerful illustrations of the adaptation of the faith of the gospel—not merely to the human mind in general—but to each of its faculties, and to each of its emotions ;—to the will, the understanding, the imagination, the memory—to the hopes, the fears, the joys, and the sorrows of man. That which interests us the more in this subject, as it relates to Byron, is, that this appears to us to have been the light in which the evidences and the duties of religion could have been presented with the greatest effect to his mind ; and the light in which they are calculated to produce the most salutary effect upon similar minds. It is the light also, in which Dr. Kennedy failed to present it, though he acknowledged its great importance. Lord Byron, if we may be excused the familiarity of the expression on a subject like this, was not a matter-of-fact man, except as facts enabled him to discover and express great principles connected with the philosophy of the human mind—and therefore the argument for Christianity drawn from history and prophecy was not the one best calculated to interest and convince him. In the figurative language of his biographer, uttered on another occasion—“ he delighted to wander only amid the ruins of the heart, to dwell in places which the fire of feeling had desolated, and like the chestnut tree, which grows best in volcanic soils, to luxuriate most where the fire of passion had left its mark.” Now, we would fain have gone with him, having the gospel in our heart and on our lip, and as we gazed with him on such desolations, especially as they existed in his own dreary soul—we would have tried to show him, how, by the power of this gospel—

“ Those ruins might be built again,  
And all that dust might rise.”

We would have tried to convince him how its blessed spirit, descending upon the parched soil of the human heart, like dew upon the mown grass, would make it to rejoice and blossom like the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley. Availing ourselves of that characteristic of his mind, which led him, on one of his voyages to the east, as he laid his

hand on a dagger, to wonder how a man would feel, after committing murder;—we would have endeavored to show him, on the principles of a just philosophy, how the powers and affections of the mind will operate, when a man has once repented and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ. With the Bible in our hands, as the foundation of our theory, we would have tried to illustrate to him, how, by “the power of mighty love” to Christ, the before disordered soul of man can be made to revolve in peaceful and eternal harmony around the centre of its affection—the sun of reason shining, resplendent, in a clear heaven—the cool atmosphere of chastened feelings again spreading freshness and vigor amid the hectic workings of turbulent passion—order succeeding confusion—and all the raging elements of the soul stilled, like the tempest of Galilee, by the voice of Jesus. We would have labored to convince him, that there is the same adaptation of the “Sun of righteousness” to the mental, as there is of the sun of nature to the natural world;—that when we turn from it, all is dark—and when we return to it, all is brightness. As we beheld his soul in darkness, and saw it well-nigh bursting with the struggling power of uncontrolled and irrepressible passion; we would have pointed him to the sweet sentence, “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” We would have said—

“Here bring thy wounded heart,  
Here tell thine anguish—  
Earth hath *no* sorrow, heaven cannot heal.”

Some of our readers may not sympathize with us, strongly, in these sentiments; but we hope there are others who will. In the language of another, we think that “we have measured our ground here, and know what we say, and whereof we affirm.” It is a theme on which we dwell with absorbing interest, the more attentively we contemplate the wonderful workings of the human mind, in the exercise of its moral and intellectual faculties; but chiefly, as in the instance before us, in the play of its mighty passions. We look with hope and confidence to the time, when a system of mental philosophy, on strictly Christian principles, shall be given to the world, in which it shall be shown that the law and gospel of God can alone regulate the wanderings of mind, as the law of gravitation alone can regulate the wanderings of

matter. We believe that this kind of evidence for the truth of Christianity, while it may not entirely supersede, will with many minds, far outweigh that which is historical. To assist us in our meditation upon this subject, we esteem the two volumes of Moore's *Life of Lord Byron* a rich store-house of illustration; and as we lay them by, for this purpose, we experience an unaffected melancholy, in the thought, that in turning them to such a use, we deduce good from that which is in itself evil, and cause the wickedness of man to praise God.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### BRYANT'S POEMS.

*Poems.* By William Cullen Bryant. Boston : Russell, Odiorne and Metcalf, 1834. pp. 240.

POETRY is as various as the characters and passions of men, and the aspects of nature. A definition can no more comprehend it, than a single form can shut up the spirit of life. All criticism founded on a theory must be imperfect and partial. Wherever a being exists, actuated by the thoughts and passions of man; wherever a spreading landscape, or the mighty and mysterious ocean, or the blue vault of heaven, or the stars or the clouds, are to be seen; wherever the west wind whispers, or the storm roars, or the birds sing—*there* are the elements of poetry. Whoever has an eye to see, and a soul to feel them—that man has the spirit of poetry. Whoever has, besides, the gift of apt and harmonious expression—that man has the poetic genius, and is the true poet. Thus poetry appears under an infinite variety of forms, and poets are naturally divided into an infinite variety of corresponding classes. The sympathies of some are stirred up only by the sight of human feelings, or by scenes in which human passions are the mighty agents; and these men delight in witnessing the collision of mind with mind, and in portraying the energies called into action by struggle

and conflict. They conceive a character, identify themselves with it for the time, place it in contact with other characters, and by the mere force of sympathy and imagination, give it the same power over other men's sympathies and imaginations, that a living man would possess under the like circumstances. This kind of talent is the most essential element of dramatic genius. There are others who delight in taking a single passion, and tracing it through all its turns and windings. They present glowing pictures of *feelings* or states of mind, but care little for action or dramatic representation. They are fond of speculation, and perhaps run occasionally into metaphysical obscurity. Their poetry will be more likely to reflect their own thoughts, than the images of characters which surround them. It will be more intensely individual, and narrower in the range of its themes, than the poetry of the former class. It will be less popular, but more exciting to minds of a serious cast. It will furnish food for meditation and introspective examination. It will fall in better with the humor of a mind given to solitary musings, and will be likely to cherish a sobered romance of thought, in direct hostility to the gaiety of tonish life and fashionable talk. Such poetry may be more or less liked, but it is no less genuine poetry. There are again others, whose genius is excited by odd traits of character. These are hit off by them with admirable truth, and are generally very attractive to the reader's mind. They form a class that may be designated as the *humorists*. They have not the severity of satire, but gain their object by lively sallies and playful exaggeration. They are poets, for they give one view of human life, by combining the scattered gleams of oddity and frolicsomeness, that glance here and there upon the surface of human existence, like occasional inbreaks of sunlight amidst the showers of an April day.

Then as to the general manner or style of handling subjects, there are great diversities. The minds of some are tuned to harmony, and all subjects accommodate themselves to harmonic laws. All the phenomena of nature are described in smooth and flowing numbers. Human passions lay aside their intense exclamations, their broken expressions, their startling vehemence, and soften themselves down to the music of the poet's mind. Distorted attitudes are turned by his plastic genius into grace and dignity. The face, wrinkled and furrowed by the strong workings of stormy emotions

appears no more, but in its place rises up the smooth and classic countenance, the serene brow and the waving locks of Apollo. Then come the opposite class, with whom every thing is strong, or connected with strong emotion. The feelings and passions, in their representations, spread into gigantic proportions. Language becomes nervous, bold, and sometimes harsh, under their vigorous handling. Characters are sketched rather than finished, and assume a certain vastness and grandeur, rather than a well defined outline and an expression intelligible to all because speaking sentiments common to all. These are the Michael Angelos of poetry. They do not give pleasure to the common throng, but they inspire awe, and sometimes fill a cold and fastidious taste with disgust. Yet these are poets, and in the highest class.

There are yet others, whose taste leads them aside from the walks of men, to the contemplation of the works of nature. The seasons in their succession, night and day, the sky, the winds murmuring in the branches, the verdure of fields, the many-tinted flowers, have for them a language, inspire them with the feeling of poetry, and dictate a musical flow of "numerous verse." They look upon the inanimate works of God as on the faces of familiar friends. In the compositions of such poets there is generally a regularity of structure, a calmness and repose breathed over the sentiments, and a beautiful selectness in the language, which make them the favorites of tasteful and gentle spirits. Such, in its general character, is the genius of Bryant. His natural turn is for the calm, the subdued, the elegant. A flower is to him an animated being. He communes with it as if it had the language of consolation, encouragement, and hope. The primeval forests of our country fill him with reverence. Their solemn shades are sanctified to his mind by the presence of the Eternal Spirit. He connects them with ancient worship, and describes man as choosing them for places of prayer before the Almighty was adored in temples built by human hands. The mountains, brooks and rivers are alike his companions. Hence springs the peculiarly delightful effect of his poetry. It brings the mind to the same pleasurable state that nature herself inspires. If we ascend a hill-top, towards the close of a summer day, and look abroad over the outspread landscape, the distant village, the blue mountains in the back-ground, softened by the aerial perspective, the variety of lawn and woodland and

cultivated field, the occasional glance of a winding stream as it comes out into the view, and if we listen to the vague sounds that murmur around us—the whole scene being illuminated by the rich light of a golden sunset—our minds are filled with an image of surpassing beauty, our passions are hushed by a consciousness that the time and place are holy, and our whole being is full of calm and complacent happiness. Precisely such is the effect of a large proportion of Mr. Bryant's poetry. A walk over Mount Auburn, among the groves of everlasting green, with here and there a monument of the dead around us, and a view of the abodes of the living before us, offers the most striking commentary on that inimitable poem the *Thanatopsis*.

Bryant's poetry is cheerful. He looks on the bright side of things, and considers man as advancing towards a state of higher cultivation and purity.

If he ever approaches to sadness, it is the sadness, the chastised feeling of a thoughtful, not of a sorrowing spirit. A subdued gladness, a beautiful contentment, is the prevailing expression of his mind. From this inward calm flows a general good-will to mankind, which finds frequent utterance in his works. Wherever human sufferings exist, wherever tyranny is felt, thither his sympathies are drawn. A mild philanthropy, an universal kindliness of feeling breathe from every page. The tendency of all his poetry is to pure and virtuous sentiments, to encouraging and hopeful views, to a rational cheerfulness of spirit, and to a gentle and religious temper. To illustrate what we have said, we proceed to examine the character and structure of several pieces in the volume before us. The first poem is that well known production called "*The Ages*." This has already become a classic in our language, and it may be thought superfluous to say any thing about it. But we believe the oftener public attention is called to such pure and exalted strains, the better for public morals and private taste. The aim of this poem is to gather from the past history of the world encouraging views of "the future destinies of the human race."—And this aim illustrates what we have above said concerning the traits of Mr. Bryant's poetical character. In the hand of a man of a different temper, of a less cheerful thinker, the train of thought would have been opposite, and the conclusion just the reverse of Mr. Bryant's. The poem consists of a series of pictures, wrought up from elements found in



historic records, in the finest style of polished composition. The impression of each is on the whole favorable to the hopes of the philanthropist, though in some the prevailing color is sombre. Yet in these the poet has thrown a redeeming light, which, like the rainbow, gives an earnest of a coming serenity in the moral atmosphere. We quote the conclusion of the poem.

“ Oh, sweetly the returning muses' strain  
Swelled over that famed stream, whose gentle tide  
In their bright lap the Etrurian vales detain,  
Sweet, as when winter storms have ceased to chide,  
And all the new leaved woods, resounding wide,  
Send out wild hymns upon the scented air.  
Lo ! to the smiling Arno's classic side  
The emulous nations of the west repair,  
And kindle their quenched urns, and drink fresh spirit there.

Still, heaven deferred the hour ordained to rend  
From saintly rottenness the sacred stole ;  
And cowl and worshipped shrine could still defend  
The wretch with felon stains upon his soul ;  
And crimes were set to sale, and hard his dole  
Who could not bribe a passage to the skies ;  
And vice beneath the mitre's kind control,  
Sinned gaily on, and grew to giant size,  
Shielded by priestly power, and watched by priestly eyes.

At last the earthquake came—the shock, that hurled  
To dust, in many fragments dashed and strown,  
The throne, whose roots were in another world,  
And whose far stretching shadow awed our own.  
From many a proud monastic pile, o'erthrown,  
Fear-struck, the hooded inmates rushed and fled ;  
The web, that for a thousand years had grown  
O'er prostrate Europe, in that day of dread  
Crumbled and fell, as fire dissolves the flaxen thread.

The spirit of that day is still awake,  
And spreads himself, and shall not sleep again ;  
But through the idle mesh of power shall break,  
Like billows o'er the Asian monarch's chain ;  
Till men are filled with him, and feel how vain,  
Instead of the pure heart and innocent hands,  
Are all the proud and pompous modes to gain  
The smile of heaven ;—till a new age expands  
Its white and holy wings above the peaceful lands.

For look again on the past years ;—behold,  
Flown, like the night-mare's hideous shapes, away  
Full many a horrible worship, that, of old,  
Held, o'er the shuddering realms, unquestioned sway :  
See crimes that feared not once the eye of day,  
Rooted from men, without a name or place :  
See nations blotted out from earth, to pay  
The forfeit of deep guilt ;—with glad embrace  
The fair disburdened lands welcome a nobler race.

Thus error's monstrous shapes from earth are driven ;  
They fade, they fly—but truth survives their flight ;  
Earth has no shades to quench that beam of heaven ;  
Each ray, that shone, in early time, to light  
The faltering footsteps in the path of right,  
Each gleam of clearer brightness, shed to aid  
In man's maturer day his bolder sight,  
All blended, like the rainbow's radiant braid,  
Pour yet, and still shall pour, the blaze that cannot fade.

Late, from this western shore, that morning chased  
The deep and ancient night, that threw its shroud  
O'er the green land of groves, the beautiful waste,  
Nurse of full streams, and lifter up of proud  
Sky-mingling mountains that o'erlook the cloud.  
Erewhile, where yon gay spires their brightness rear,  
Trees waved, and the brown hunter's shouts were loud  
Amid the forest ; and the bounding deer  
Fled at the glancing plume, and the gaunt wolf yelled near.

And where his willing waves yon bright blue bay  
Sends up, to kiss his decorated brim,  
And cradles, in his soft embrace, the gay  
Young group of grassy islands born of him,  
And, crowding nigh, or in the distance dim,  
Lifts the white throng of sails, that bear or bring  
The commerce of the world ;—with tawny limb,  
And belt and beads in sunlight glistening,  
The savage urged his skiff like wild bird on the wing.

Then, all this youthful paradise around,  
And all the broad and boundless mainland, lay  
Cooled by the interminable wood, that frowned  
O'er mount and vale, where never summer ray  
Glanced, till the strong tornado broke his way  
Through the gray giants of the sylvan wild ;  
Yet many a sheltered glade, with blossoms gay,  
Beneath the showery sky and sunshine mild,  
Within the shaggy arms of that dark forest smiled.

There stood the Indian hamlet, there the lake  
Spread its blue sheet that flashed with many an oar,  
Where the brown otter plunged him from the brake,  
And the deer drank : as the light gale flew o'er,  
The twinkling maize-field rustled on the shore ;  
And while that spot, so wild, and lone, and fair,  
A look of glad and innocent beauty wore,  
And peace was on the earth and in the air,  
The warrior lit the pile, and bound his captive there :

Not unavenged—the foeman, from the wood,  
Beheld the deed, and when the midnight shade  
Was stillest, gorged his battle-axe with blood ;  
All died—the wailing babe—the shrieking maid—  
And in the flood of fire that scathed the glade,  
The roofs went down ; but deep the silence grew,  
When on the dewy woods the day-beam played ;  
No more the cabin smokes rose wreathed and blue,  
And ever, by their lake, lay moored the light canoes.

Look now abroad—another race has filled  
These populous borders—wide the wood recedes,  
And towns shoot up, and fertile realms are tilled ;  
The land is full of harvests and green meads ;  
Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,  
Shine, disembowered, and give to sun and breeze  
Their virgin waters ; the full region leads  
New colonies forth, that toward the western seas  
Spread, like a rapid flame among the autumnal trees.

Here the free spirit of mankind, at length,  
Throws its last fetters off ; and who shall place  
A limit to the giant's unchained strength,  
Or curb his swiftness in the forward race ?  
Far, like the comet's way through infinite space,  
Stretches the long untravelled path of light  
Into the depths of ages : we may trace,  
Distant, the brightening glory of its flight,  
Till the receding rays are lost to human sight.

Europe is given a prey to sterner fates,  
And writhes in shackles ; strong the arms that chain  
To earth her struggling multitude of states ;  
She too is strong, and might not chafe in vain  
Against them, but shake off the vampyre train  
That batten on her blood, and break their net.  
Yes, she shall look on brighter days, and gain  
The meed of worthier deeds ; the moment set  
To rescue and raise up, draws near—but is not yet.

But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,  
But with thy children—thy maternal care,  
Thy lavish love, thy blessings showered on all—  
These are thy fetters—seas and stormy air  
Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where  
Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well,  
Thou laugh'st at enemies : who shall then declare  
The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell  
How happy, in thy lap, the sons of men shall dwell ? ”

We have already alluded to “*Thanatopsis*.” This poem is in a grand and majestic strain. It is a vision of death, expressed with a solemnity of thought, and a majestic harmony of language, appropriate to such a theme. Death appears in all his awfulness, but with none of his ghastly terrors. The subject is surrounded with those serious associations which it awakens in thinking minds, and the whole effect of the piece is soothing and delightful. There is doubtless, in a physical view of death, much from which humanity shrinks ; much to excite a loathing in the sensitive spirit ;

To lie in cold obstruction and to rot ;  
This sensible warm motion to become  
A kneaded clod—

are images that have come up to dismay better disciplined and devouter men than Claudio. But such a view, when taken alone, belongs neither to common sense, philosophy, or religion. With a fine moral discernment, united to a just poetical taste, Bryant has glanced at this, because it belonged to his subject ; but has then passed to other more essential images, which soothe the agitated soul down to a willingness to die, and join the “innumerable caravan.”—Nay, he has given the impression, if we may be allowed such language, that death is a social state, and that perpetual life, in this world of change, would be a dreary solitude to the unhappy spirit doomed to endure it. We extract the following noble passage, which is worthy to be in the memory of every lover of poetry and truth.

“ The oak  
Shall send his roots abroad, and pierce thy mould.  
Yet not to thy eternal resting-place  
Shalt thou retire alone—nor couldst thou wish  
Couch more magnificent. Thou shalt lie down

" My heart is awed within me, when I think  
Of the great miracle that still goes on,  
In silence, round me—the perpetual work  
Of thy creation, finished, yet renewed  
Forever. Written on thy works I read  
The lesson of thy own eternity.  
Lo ! all grow old and die—but see, again,  
How on the faltering footsteps of decay  
Youth presses—ever gay and beautiful youth  
In all its beautiful forms. These lofty trees  
Wave not less proudly that their ancestors  
Moulder beneath them. Oh, there is not lost  
One of earth's charms : upon her bosom yet,  
After the flight of untold centuries,  
The freshness of her far beginning lies  
And yet shall lie. Life mocks the idle hate  
Of his arch enemy Death—yea, seats himself  
Upon the tyrant's throne—the sepulchre,  
And of the triumphs of his ghastly foe  
Makes his own nourishment. For he came forth  
From thine own bosom, and shall have no end.

There have been holy men who hid themselves  
Deep in the woody wilderness, and gave  
Their lives to thought and prayer, till they outlived  
The generation born with them, nor seemed  
Less aged than the hoary trees and rocks  
Around them ;—and there have been holy men  
Who deemed it were not well to pass life thus.  
But let me often to these solitudes  
Retire, and in thy presence reassure  
My feeble virtue. Here its enemies,  
The passions, at thy plainer footsteps shrink  
And tremble and are still. Oh, God ! when thou  
Dost scare the world with tempests, set on fire  
The heavens with falling thunderbolts, or fill,  
With all the waters of the firmament,  
The swift dark whirlwind that uproots the woods  
And drowns the villages ; when, at thy call,  
Uprises the great deep and throws himself  
Upon the continent and overwhelms  
Its cities—who forgets not, at the sight  
Of these tremendous tokens of thy power,  
His pride, and lays his strifes and follies by ?  
Oh, from these sterner aspects of thy face  
Spare me and mine, nor let us need the wrath  
Of the mad unchained elements to teach  
Who rules them. Be it ours to meditate

In these calm shades thy milder majesty,  
And, to the beautiful order of thy works,  
Learn to conform the order of our lives."

"Summer Wind" has the same general characteristics as "Evening Wind." In descriptive power it is superior, as it abounds in a greater luxuriance of agreeable images. "Autumn Woods" is written in a different metre, and describes well the beautiful peculiarities of that season.

"Where now the solemn shade,  
Verdure and gloom where many branches met ;  
So grateful, when the noon of summer made  
The valleys sick with heat ?

Let in through all the trees  
Come the strange rays ; the forest depths are bright ;  
Their sunny-colored foliage, in the breeze,  
Twinkles, like beams of light.

The rivulet, late unseen,  
Where bickering through the shrubs its waters run,  
Shines with the image of its golden screen,  
And glimmerings of the sun.

But 'neath yon crimson tree,  
Lover to listening maid might breathe his flame,  
Nor mark, within its roseate canopy,  
Her blush of maiden shame.

Oh, Autumn ! why so soon  
Depart the hues that make thy forest glad ;  
Thy gentle wind and thy fair sunny noon,  
And leave thee wild and sad !

Ah ! 't were a lot too blest  
For ever in thy colored shades to stray ;  
Amidst the kisses of the soft southwest  
To rove and dream for aye ;

And leave the vain low strife  
That makes men mad—the tug for wealth and power,  
The passions and the cares that wither life,  
And waste its little hour."

A "Winter Piece" is a splendid poem. The poet has concentrated in four or five pages, a crowd of magnificent images, each heightening the effect of the others, every

touch making the glory of the picture more intense, until the whole scene stands before the mind, spread over with the richest hues of poetry. How glowing and picturesque the language! Such a passage as the following makes us forget the stern severity of our northern winter, and prefer the parent of such inspiration, to the orange groves and spicy gales of more genial climes. And yet, there is no exaggeration in all this. It requires only the poetical eye of Bryant, to find it in every winter, which clothes the fields of New England in its robes of snow.

“ But winter has yet brighter scenes,—he boasts  
Splendors beyond what gorgeous summer knows ;  
Or autumn, with his many fruits, and woods  
All flushed with many hues. Come, when the rains  
Have glazed the snow, and clothed the trees with ice ;  
While the slant sun of February pours  
Into the bowers a flood of light. Approach !  
The encrusted surface shall upbear thy steps,  
And the broad arching portals of the grove  
Welcome thy entering. Look ! the massy trunks  
Are cased in the pure crystal, each light spray,  
Nodding and tinkling in the breath of heaven,  
Is studded with its trembling water-drops,  
That stream with rainbow radiance as they move.  
But round the parent stem the long low boughs  
Bend, in a glittering ring, and arbors hide  
The grassy floor. Oh ! you might deem the spot,  
The spacious cavern of the virgin mine,  
Deep in the womb of earth—where the gems grow,  
And diamonds put forth radiant rods and bud  
With amethyst and topaz—and the place  
Lit up, most royally, with the pure beam  
That dwells in them. Or haply the vast hall  
Of fairy palace, that outlasts the night,  
And fades not in the glory of the sun ;—  
Where crystal columns send forth slender shafts  
And crossing arches ; and fantastic aisles  
Wind from the sight in brightness, and are lost  
Among the crowded pillars. Raise thine eye,—  
Thou seest no cavern roof, no palace vault ;  
There the blue sky and the white drifting cloud  
Look in. Again the wildered fancy dreams  
Of spouting fountains, frozen as they rose,  
And fixed, with all their branching jets, in air,  
And all their sluices sealed. All, all is light ;  
Light without shade. But all shall pass away

With the next sun. From numberless vast trunks,  
Loosened, the crashing ice shall make a sound  
Like the far roar of rivers, and the eve  
Shall close o'er the brown woods as it was wont."

The "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood" overflows with a devoted love of nature. The "Scene on the Banks of the Hudson," agrees well with the saying of Simonides, that "poetry is speaking painting"; and a painter might easily turn it into an example of the other part of the antithesis—"painting is silent poetry"; for the artist would have only to take from the poet the features of the landscape, just as he has sketched them, and fix them on his canvass, to make a fine specimen of "silent poetry."

In a somewhat different strain, but equally illustrative of the poet's intimate communion with nature, are the exquisite lines "To the Fringed Gentian," which we quote entire.

"Thou blossom bright with autumn dew,  
And colored with the heaven's own blue,  
That openest, when the quiet light  
Succeeds the keen and frosty night.

Thou comest not when violets lean  
O'er wandering brooks and springs unseen,  
Or columbines, in purple drest,  
Nod o'er the ground-bird's hidden nest.

Thou waitest late, and com'st alone,  
When woods are bare and birds are flown,  
And frosts and shortening days portend  
The aged year is near its end.

Then doth thy sweet and quiet eye  
Look through its fringes to the sky,  
Blue—blue—as if that sky let fall  
A flower from its cerulean wall.

I would that thus, when I shall see  
The hour of death draw near to me,  
Hope, blossoming within my heart,  
May look to heaven as I depart."

The poem "To a Cloud" is full of rich and delicate description, indeed it is one of the most delightful poems in the volume. The images associated with the main idea,



are in beautiful keeping, and the words are chosen with a rare fineness of discernment. "A Walk at Sunset" embodies the soothing and tranquillizing meditations, and the quiet imagery of that favorite hour. The grouping of thoughts in this little poem are in exquisite taste, and the language is harmonious as the scene it describes. The tints of the picture—for this is a "speaking picture"—blend together, and produce on the mind an unbroken impression of soft yet magnificent beauty. Perhaps the most *powerful* poem in the volume is the "Hymn to Death." There are certainly passages in that production which show that Mr. Bryant can strike a bolder key, than he has yet done. For example.

—"But, oh, most fearfully  
Dost thou show forth Heaven's justice, when thy shafts  
Drink up the ebbing spirit—then the hard  
Of heart and violent of hand restores  
The treasure to the friendless wretch he wronged.  
*Then from the writhing bosom thou dost pluck  
The guilty secret ; lips, for ages sealed,  
Are faithless to the dreadful trust at length,  
And give it up ; the felon's latest breath  
Absolves the innocent man who bears his crime ;  
The slanderer, horror smitten, and in tears,  
Recalls the deadly obloquy he forged  
To work his brother's ruin," &c.*

There are passages of similar power in other poems—as in the "Massacre at Scio" and the "Murdered Traveller," but this is not a prevailing characteristic of Bryant's writings.

One of the best among the smaller poems, is the last in the volume "To a Waterfowl." The subject is a singular one, and the lines show with what a skilful and poetic eye, the commonest occurrences are viewed by Bryant. The measure falls in admirably with the train of thought. How beautifully the "linked sweetness long drawn out" of the second and third lines in each stanza succeed the emphatic rapidity of the first. How perfectly and inimitably descriptive are the last two of the following lines.

"Vainly the fowler's eye  
Might mark thy distant flight to do thee wrong  
*As, darkly painted on the crimson sky,  
Thy figure floats along."*

The extracts we have made give, we think, a tolerably correct idea of Bryant's genius. The volume contains much rich description and moral poetry, which we have not been able to refer to, and a considerable number of translations from the Spanish. The fame of Mr. Bryant will not be increased by these versions, though they are done with consummate elegance of style. Mr. Bryant's manner is individual and original, and does not easily adapt itself to foreign turns of thought, and particularly to the grave simplicity, the unadorned naturalness of Spanish ballads. Neither do we think his humorous pieces among his most successful performances. His "Address to a Musquito," and his "Poem on Rhode Island Coal," are wrought up with a careful elaboration of style, which makes the pleasantry rather too stately. We feel the want of point, and pith, and sparkling expression, and easy, idiomatic turns, and happy humor.

The general excellencies of Mr. Bryant's style are purity, grace, and harmony. His language is chosen with a nice perception of the delicate shades of meaning in words, and is constructed with studious correctness. It is pure English, and yet American—two qualities not always united. His sentences are always graceful, that is, they are formed in such a manner as to be agreeable to a cultivated reader. The turn of expression never borders on vulgarity, but is always in good taste, according to its strictest requirements. The harmony of the verse is full and rich. The sound of a gentle breeze through a pine forest, is one of the most delightful in nature, and affects the mind just like the melody of Bryant's lines. They unite sameness and variety—the sameness and variety of nature herself. A single stanza of Bryant's can never be mistaken for another man's; but he never tires the reader, any more than the green fields, the stars, the deep-toned ocean, tire him. In his hands, language loses all its harshness. This sometimes becomes a defect, for we read page after page of smoothly flowing verse, until it fills the mind with repose, like the murmurs of an unobstructed stream. The beautiful harmony sometimes prevents us from feeling the whole strength of the thought. Hence we are led to accuse the poet of indistinctness in his conceptions, when the enticements of verse have taken the ear, and "in pleasing slumber lulled the sense." Bryant's style is not marked by strong expressions of concentrated passion, which fix themselves in the memory at once and for-

ever. His power is not to be judged by single passages, taken unconnected with their context. It consists essentially, in the completeness of his conceptions, the finished manner in which they are *chiseled* as it were, into exquisite shapes, the unerring justness of proportion between the parts, their graceful repose, and majestic ideality. His genius is not dramatic. Its sphere is not action. His thoughts never assume the liveliness and pith of the epigram. To enjoy his writings perfectly, the reader's mind must be brought beforehand to a state of sobered meditation. He must forget the littleness of vulgar life, look abroad on nature, recall the faded impressions of purity and beauty and grandeur, which have been stamped on his soul in happier hours; rekindle the enthusiasm of early life, and then sit down to the poet's page, in trusting simplicity of heart.

Bryant is emphatically an American poet. The cast of his mind is republican, and his sentiments are all for human freedom. The scenery he describes is American scenery. His eye ranges over the prairies, and his heart

—swells, while the dilated light  
Takes in the encircling vastness.

His mind wanders over the centuries during which our forests have raised their tall heads to the sky, and he thinks sadly of the mighty race, who formerly roved uncontrolled through their sunless thickets. He describes a landscape on the banks of a mighty river—that river is the Hudson. He celebrates the seasons, and we know them for American seasons. He revisits the country—it is a village in New England to which his muse returns with the familiar recollections of youthful love. His verse glows with a "Sunset"—it is no Claude Lorraine, no Italian scene, no Grecian sky—but it is a sun that "o'er the *western mountains*" of America "goes down in glory." The Americanism of sentiment, which Mr. Bryant occasionally expresses in allusion to the political condition of Europe, has been censured by a late English Reviewer. To a European taste, formed under aristocratic institutions, it may appear offensive; but for ourselves, we would cherish the poet, whose genius, like an undimmed and unbroken mirror, reflects the thoughts, feelings, principles, character and scenery of his own, his "native land."

## ARTICLE VIII.

## DR. PORTER'S LECTURES ON PREACHING.

*Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching, and on Public Prayer, together with Sermons and Letters. By Ebenezer Porter, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary, Andover. 1834.*

THE art of preaching has hitherto received a very small share of the attention which its vast importance demands. The history of the church records many examples of great power in the pulpit ; but, if we except some cold, technical treatises in German, nothing has ever been published that deserves to be called a system of sacred eloquence. While preaching forms the mainspring of all the instrumentalities employed for the salvation of mankind ; while it confessedly exerts on their character and immortal interests an influence more powerful than all other causes combined ; while it is, a work not only more important, but far more delicate and arduous than any in which men can be engaged ; the preacher has, after all, been left either to imitate such examples as accident may have brought before him, to cull from secular oratory a few rules more or less applicable to his peculiar art, or to follow his own genius and judgment without any foreign aid.

The few fragments that have appeared in different ages and countries on the art of preaching, cannot justly be considered as exceptions to this remark. More than three centuries of the Christian dispensation passed away before anything was written on the subject that has come down to us ; and even the work of Chrysostom *De Sacerdotio*, and that of Augustin *De Doctrina Christiana*, serve rather to show what views were entertained by those luminaries of the Greek and Latin church respecting the importance of sacred eloquence, than to exhibit its principles and rules in such a way as would materially assist young preachers.

From the time of Augustin to the dawn of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, nothing worthy of preservation was published on the subject ; and, during that long and dreary night of the human mind, the pulpit sank into such

shameful degeneracy, that preachers of the everlasting gospel discussed questions nearly as frivolous and absurd as any that ever occupied the hair-splitting schoolmen of the dark ages. "Whether Abel was slain with a club, and of what species of wood it was? From what sort of tree was Moses' rod taken? Was the gold offered by the Magi to Christ, coined or in mass?" In a collection of sermons composed by the theologians of Vienna early in the fifteenth century, a minute history is given of the thirty pieces of money received by Judas for betraying our Saviour. "These pieces were said to have been coined by Terah, the father of Abraham; and, having passed through a succession of hands too ridiculous to be named, they came into possession of the Virgin Mary as a present from the Magi, and went into the temple as an offering for her purification."

We should suppose that the Reformation would have called forth treatises on the art of preaching. So it did; but none of them can claim to be regarded as a system of sacred rhetoric. The first and most respectable was that of Erasmus *De Ratione Concionandi*, stamped with the impress of his genius, taste, and good judgment, but altogether insufficient for its purpose.

The same is true of succeeding authors. Even the *Dialogues of Fenelon*, though called by Doddridge himself incomparable, and "mentioned by many writers of eminence with a sort of respect bordering on veneration," are in fact little more than a series of desultory remarks on a few important points connected with the business of preaching. They are admirable in their place, but do not profess to teach the whole art. The views exhibited in them are very correct; but only a small part of the subjects that ought to be embraced in a system of pulpit eloquence, are there taken up at all, and not one discussed with the fullness necessary for a student of sacred rhetoric.

*Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, is more systematic, but far too artificial for any man of genius, taste, or sense to follow. It is an elaborate piece, perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of a Frenchman's powers on such a subject; but however worthy of being carefully read, we see not how any preacher of ordinary talents could consent to trammel himself with such a set of rules, and force his mind, like a car on a railway, to run forever in the same track.

The work of *Abbe Maury on Pulpit Eloquence*, is in

some respects more defective than either of the preceding. It is not so much a system of rhetoric, or a collection of rules for the composition and delivery of sermons, as a string of fine and florid declamations. It contains some excellent remarks, but would be a poor guide to the young preacher. *Reybaz on the Art of Preaching*, gives in a small compass a variety of useful hints; but a short letter, with whatever beauty and force it may touch on many topics of importance to the preacher, cannot teach a system of sacred eloquence.

In German works we have still less confidence. The literary enterprise of Germany would of course intermeddle with a subject like this; but its writers have handled it with fingers of ice. Its degenerate theology, a body without a soul, has paralyzed the energies of its pulpit; and its systems of sacred eloquence sufficiently numerous, are extremely dry and technical. Its histories of the pulpit are worthy of a perusal, if not of a translation, and some of its treatises on preaching would furnish valuable materials, though imbedded in ice, for a professor of sacred rhetoric; but woe to the churches of America when our candidates for the Christian ministry shall study the divine art of prophets and apostles in such systems of pulpit eloquence as we have happened to meet from Germany. Reinhard, the best preacher she has produced since the days of Luther, sought not their aid, but drew his skill in the pulpit from his own genius and the masterpieces of ancient eloquence.

Our own language contains its full share of fragments on this subject. Beside translations of Fenelon, Claude, Maury, and other foreign writers, a large number of essays, such as they are, have been written by English and American divines, on topics connected with the business of preaching. We find hints, or hortatory appeals, in almost every evangelical writer of any eminence. The subject has been in one form or another, discussed by bishops in their charges to the clergy, and by dissenting ministers in discourses delivered at their meetings for mutual improvement, and the consecration of their brethren to the pastoral office. In some of these ways the most eminent preachers of England and America have been led to touch upon a variety of topics belonging to their sacred work; but not one of them has ever sketched a full system of pulpit eloquence, nor would all their essays and hints put together, form a sufficient guide to

the study of an art so incomparably delicate, difficult, and important.

This assertion our limits will not allow us to verify by analyzing the principal works in our language on preaching; but, if any one doubts its truth, let him consult Wilkins on Prayer and Preaching, Fordyce on the Art of Preaching, the Lectures both of Doddridge and Smith, Edwards's Preacher and Hearer, Gregory on the Composition and Delivery of a Sermon, and even all that Burnet, Baxter, and Campbell wrote; and he will, if we mistake not, rise from the task deeply impressed with the necessity of something more and better than all these put together, to assist the student of sacred eloquence. These treatises deserve to be read, some of them repeatedly, by every preacher, but they are, in our opinion, quite insufficient properly to instruct him in his delicate and difficult work. The lectures of Campbell on Pulpit Eloquence, we regard as superior in most respects to any thing hitherto published on the subject in any language; but even these, though systematic in arrangement, rich in thought, and worthy of being studied by every candidate for the sacred office, give us little more than an outline, hardly a full skeleton of what we need on the science and art of preaching.

In this dearth of satisfactory treatises on a subject so immensely important, we hail with much pleasure the work before us. Knowing the excellencies of its author as a model and a teacher of sacred eloquence, we had long cherished the hope, that he would give to the world the result of his experience, observation, and researches; and since reading the announcement of his purpose to publish a course of lectures on which many have attended with so much satisfaction and profit, we have waited for them with high expectations. Nor are we disappointed. After having heard them twice in the lecture-room, we have read them with fresh interest, and been fully confirmed in our opinion of them as superior to any thing yet published on the subject. The book is in our judgment worth more to the student of sacred rhetoric, than all that we have been able to find on the art of preaching in any language. It is refined gold, and ought to be studied not only by every candidate for the Christian ministry, but by every preacher who is neither too wise to learn, nor too old to improve. We may be somewhat partial to a book in which we recognize on every page the impress of a

revered instructor ; but, after searching through libraries for something to guide us in the sacred and momentous work of preaching the gospel, we are constrained to regard these lectures as the best treatise we have been able to find on the eloquence of the pulpit.

Still it does not profess to embrace the whole subject. Yet we are glad the author did not delay any longer to lay before the public a portion of what his health has permitted him to collect and shape for the press. We trust a kind Providence will spare and strengthen him to finish what he has planned for the benefit of his brethren and successors in the ministry ; and we should like to express the hope, that he will give us his views not only on the subjects to which he alludes in one of his notes, but on a variety of others, which are either important, or highly interesting, and with which we know him to be familiar, and able to give us with little labor what can be gained only by much practice in preaching, intimate acquaintance with books, and long experience as a teacher of pulpit eloquence. The exercises in his department at Andover have led, as we well remember, to the discussion of many topics not proper to be incorporated in a system of sacred rhetoric, yet intimately connected with the art, and very interesting, both to preachers and general scholars. It would cost Dr. Porter but little to prepare a series of essays on subjects like those, and give to the world a volume more useful, and not less attractive than the "Decisions of President Dwight."

Some of our clerical readers are already apprized of what this volume contains ; but others who will wish to own, and ought to study it, may desire a brief analysis of its contents. The title-page seems to promise a string of miscellanies ; but all its pieces are in one way or another relative to the business of preaching. We doubt the wisdom of prefixing both a table of contents, and a syllabus of the lectures too copious for an analysis, and too brief for an abstract. It was made for the lecture-room, and might as well have been reserved for that use. Should the work be adopted as a text-book, this syllabus would indeed be a great relief to lazy students ; but we feel little respect for such labor-saving expedients as are now extensively used in academies and high schools for both sexes.

The first lecture discusses the importance of critical exercises to the student of eloquence, and suggests some means



of rendering them useful. We could wish that the author had extended his remarks on this point beyond his lecture-room, and told us how a preacher may improve himself after entering on his sacred work. We fear that most men on leaving the seminary, cease from special and stated efforts for their own improvement in the art of preaching; and we often see the consequences in their sliding ere long into bad habits both in the composition and the delivery of their sermons.

The two next lectures briefly sketch the history of the pulpit from the earliest times down to the Reformation. It is a mere outline, but is filled with many interesting facts concerning the modes of public religious instruction both before and since the advent of our Saviour; the places and general order of worship; the construction of ancient pulpits; the time and frequency of preaching; the posture, both of preacher and hearers; the classification of the latter in the house of God; the manner of praying; the custom of reading the Scriptures; the subjects discussed at different epochs of the pulpit; the interpretation of the Bible in sermons, and their preparation, their length, and their effects.

We cannot resist the temptation to give one or two extracts from the third lecture. The first is a short specimen of the mystical interpretation introduced by Origen, who understood the Bible according to a *hidden sense*, which he divided into *moral* and *mystical*, and the latter into the *inferior* or *allegorical sense*, and the *superior* or *celestial*. We would not quote such an example of absurdity, had not a spirit somewhat similar diffused itself through nearly all our popular commentaries, and were not preachers, as well as the great mass of common minds, too much disposed to imitate this illustrious father of mysticism in forcing every shred of Scripture, though it were in the first chapter of the first book of Chronicles, to express some doctrine or duty of religion.

"From the endless examples of fanciful interpretation, furnished in the pages of Origen, I select but one. The prophet Isaiah, having rebuked the splendor and luxury of the Hebrew women, declares, that in the approaching havoc of war, such would be the slaughter of *males* that only *one* would be left to *seven* females. These latter, to escape the dread reproach of celibacy, would beg for the mere name and credit of wedlock, renouncing all its legal privileges. 'And in that day seven

women shall take hold of one man, saying, we will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.' Let us see how this plain and vivid description of a great public calamity, is metamorphosed by the magic of a *hidden sense*.

"These seven women, Origen says, are 'seven operations of the divine Spirit; viz. a spirit of wisdom, of intelligence, of council, of virtue, of knowledge, of piety, and the fear of the Lord.' The *man* they take hold of is Jesus Christ, that he may take away the reproach, which the world heaps upon true religion."

The following paragraphs may serve to correct the stale charge, that modern preachers have departed from the primitive practice of preaching extempore.

"How far the practice of preaching extemporary discourses, prevailed among the fathers, cannot be determined with certainty. Origen is supposed to be the first, who introduced this method. This, however, he did not attempt, as Eusebius affirms, till he was more than sixty years of age, and had acquired, by experience, great freedom in the pulpit. That Augustine did sometimes preach without any preparation, is unquestionable; for, in one instance, he tells us that the reader, instead of reading the passage of Scripture, prescribed as the subject of the sermon, gave out another by mistake; which compelled him to change his purpose, and preach without premeditation. Ferrarius quotes Suidas, as saying that Chrysostom had a tongue flowing like the Nile, which enabled him to deliver his panegyrics on the Martyrs, extempore. The versatility of powers possessed by this great preacher, appears from innumerable instances, in which he dropped the main subject, and with the utmost pertinence and fluency of language, pursued any accidental thought suggested at the moment.

"But though there were, in the primitive ages, many exceptions, it seems plainly to have been the general usage, that sermons were written. No other proof of this is necessary, if we advert to the indisputable fact that some skilful writer often composed homilies, which other preachers, and even dignitaries in the church, delivered as their own. Ferrarius alludes to discourses as still extant, which were written by Ennodius, for the use of others.

"This practice, Augustine not only recognizes, but formally justifies, in behalf of those, who are destitute of *invention*, but can speak well; provided, they select well written discourses of another man, and commit them to memory, for the instruction of their hearers.

"In different countries and periods, there has been considerable diversity in the custom of preparing sermons. Before the civil wars in England, preaching without notes had become common. During those commotions, when each pulpit was surrounded with spies, and each word of the preacher liable to be the ground of civil indictment, personal safety required him to *write* and *read* his sermons with care. Hence this singular, official order of Charles the second, addressed to the university of Cambridge, forbidding, absolutely, that sermons should be *read*; and requiring that they should be delivered by memory, without book, and that the name of every preacher disregarding this requisition, should be forthwith reported to his Majesty.

"The fact, however, was at that time, and since Mr. Addison recommended the practice, is still more common, that the sermons of many English clergymen, whether delivered from memory or from manuscript, have to a considerable extent, been borrowed from books, or from the more private compositions of other men."

The next eleven lectures, the marrow of the book, are on the composition of a sermon, and discuss at some length the principles and rules that respect its different parts—the choice of texts; the classification of sermons according to their subjects, doctrinal, ethical, historical, and hortatory; the general structure of sermons, exordium and explication of the text; unity in sermons; the utility of divisions, their different kinds, and the rules for making them; the importance, sources and rules of argument in preaching; directions for the conclusion, or effective application of a discourse to the hearers.

Then follow two lectures on the style proper for the pulpit. They were written, we are told, "as part of a course of lectures on style;" and we hope our author will be able soon to fulfill his promise of "remodeling and publishing them for the use of young preachers." If these are fair specimens, we should regard the whole as an important addition to the department of taste and eloquence. We quote a few of his criticisms on the "defects of pulpit style."

"*The theological dialect*, as distinguished from what may be called classical style, results in a considerable measure, from a designed imitation of scriptural language. I say *imitation*, for unquestionably direct *quotation* from the Bible, is not only necessary, in adducing proofs from this standard of religious belief and practice, but is required by good taste, for purposes of illus-

tration and impression. Such quotations, if made with judgment, give weight and authority to a sermon. But the defect I am describing, lies in the unskilful amalgamation of sacred with common phraseology. This takes place, sometimes in single words, as *peradventure*, used for *perhaps*; *tribulation*, for *affliction* or *distress*; *sensuality* and *carnality*, for *sinful affections*; and *edification*, for *instruction* or *improvement*. So a *phrase* is often employed in a manner which requires a commentary to give it significance in current language; as when licentious conduct is called 'chambering and wantonness.'

"Sometimes this peculiar cast of style arises from using familiar terms, in an abstract or mystical sense, as *walk* and *conversation*, for *actions* or *deportment*. Sometimes a peculiar combination of words, makes a sort of *spiritual phrase*; as 'mind and will of God,'—'a sense of divine things;' and when intensive expression is necessary, 'a *realizing* sense of divine things,' is extremely common in the pulpit dialect. In some portions of our country, and at some periods, a great fondness has prevailed for compound words, such as '*God-provoking*, *heaven-offending*, *Christ-despising*, *land-defiling*.' Some of these awkward, anglo-ecclesiastical combinations, have struggled hard for a standing in good style, both here and in Great Britain: such as *unspeakableness*, *worldly-mindedness*, *spiritual-mindedness*. Men of correct taste will a thousand times rather dispense with all the advantages of these terms, than mar their native tongue, by multiplying such unseemly compounds. There is the more need of guarding against such terms, because if they are formed from words which belong to the language, they escape the reproach of barbarism; and therefore may be multiplied without end, if the tendency of writers to these combinations, shall be subject to no control but the dictates of caprice or affectation. The man who has the command of language, may easily find other words, equivalent in sense, or sufficiently so, to substitute for such complex phrases. Instead of *worldly-mindedness*, he may say *attachment to the world*. Instead of *spiritual-mindedness*, a *spirit of devotion*, or a *spirit of habitual piety*.

"One more source of the defect I am condemning, deserves to be mentioned; I mean the influence of the *colloquial dialect* on the preacher's style. The daily intercourse with common people, which, as a man, and a minister of religion, he is called to maintain, inclines him to adopt, in his public discourses, the language with which he addresses his hearers, and with which they address each other, in ordinary cases. In this way probably, a class of words, some of which are peculiar to this country, found their way into sermons;—such as *approve*, *missionate*, *gospelize*, *variate*, *happifying*, *bestowment*, *bestrustment*, *engagedness*. These words indeed, are much less frequently seen in written discourses, than certain others of the same description,

which are as common in English as in American sermons, such as *preventative*, *profundity*, *requirement*, and *solemnize* in the sense of *make solemn*."

We are glad to find in a note the views of such a man as Dr. Porter, in regard to the puerile and mischievous practice of novel-reading. We trust it does not prevail to any considerable extent among either ministers or theological students; and we have been surprised to hear any candidates for the sacred office pleading for its utility, falsely alleging the example of Dr. Payson, and disposed, if they could only bribe their consciences into silence, to spend no small part of their time in reading the works of the so called "Magician of the North." How the pressure of their studies, or the spirit of piety, or the dictates of common sense, or the urgency of so many irresistible demands on their time and strength, could allow them to indulge so much in this species of mental intemperance, we cannot well conceive; and such are our own views concerning the pernicious influence of this practice, especially on young and susceptible minds, that we should have been pleased with a full discussion of the subject, instead of the following brief note.

"The question has often been put to me, 'To what extent ought a theological student to read the *modern works of fiction*, with a view to improve his own style?' The inquiry has commonly had a primary regard to the writings of Walter Scott. To the magic of his genius, my own sensibilities have responded, whenever I have opened his pages; but the very enchantment which he throws around his subject, has warned me to beware of putting myself in his power. This is one reason, why I have read but two or three of all the volumes of fiction from his prolific pen. Another reason is, that, as an instructor of young ministers, I could not, with a good conscience, devote the *time* requisite for all this reading of romance; nor am I willing, that my example should be made an occasion for others to do so, when I am in my grave. Be it that your style might be greatly improved, in some respects, by this reading, in others it might be greatly injured; and the benefits may all be secured, in other ways, without the hazards."

The six lectures following describe the general characteristics of a sermon, "as evangelical, instructive, explicit and direct." These are the most interesting, and not the least useful, in the whole book. Here we see Dr. Porter's good

sense, and Christian sensibility in full play, and find the result of his long experience and observation. We hope he will soon complete the plan of his lectures on the characteristics of a good sermon, and a good preacher. We have been so much gratified with this part of the book, written since we had the pleasure of attending the course of instruction at Andover in sacred rhetoric, that we cannot refrain from giving a few extracts.

In showing how a sermon may be made instructive, and insisting that "its materials should generally be thrown into the form of discussion in distinction from the desultory manner," our author says :—

"There is indeed a dry, technical mode of discussing subjects, which gives a logical air to a discourse, but which wearies rather than instructs the hearers. The formality of propositions and corollaries, is not at all the thing that I am recommending. But it is incumbent on the preacher to give his hearers substantial *reasons* for that which he urges on them, as a matter of faith or duty. The senator, or the advocate at the bar, when he speaks, aims to establish some point by reasoning. Why should a Christian discourse be a mere declamatory harangue, not aiming to establish the truth of any thing, or to make any definite impression? Will it be said that, in the eloquence of the senate and the forum, argumentation is indispensable, because men will not act till they are enlightened and convinced? but that, in the sanctuary, the main object is to produce excitement and warmth? Of what *value* is that warmth, which is produced by the mere vociferation of a declaimer, and which vanishes, when the sound of his voice ceases? In my opinion, one of the greatest calamities that can befall a congregation, is to sit under the ministry of a man who never discusses any subject in a regular manner, nor attempts to prove any thing, from reason and Scripture : but gives his hearers declamation, instead of Christian instruction. Such sermons, if strictly *unpremeditated*, are more likely perhaps to have occasional flashes of vigor and vivacity, than if *precomposed*, in the *extemporary and desultory* mode of writing. In either case, they will utterly fail of *instructing* the hearers."

"The taste of this day," says Dr. Porter in another part of these lectures, "is not for hard thinking, but for narrative, stir, bustle, excitement. In the department of Christian action, our churches are progressive ; in religious discrimination, in strength and soundness of doctrinal views, they have, for some time, been losing ground. There is a deterioration, analogous to that which the aged Englishman described in looking back, through many by-gone years, to the time of his boyhood. 'Then,' said he,

'we had oaken tables, and oaken plates, and oaken seats, and willow baskets; and then we had oaken *men*. Now we have mahogany tables, and mahogany seats, and silken cushions, and silver vases; and now we have *willow men*, and *silken men*. Then the doors had latches, now they have locks and bars. Then the men defended the houses, now the houses must defend the men.'

"The fathers who planted these churches were hardy, robust Christians. Sons of Saxon ancestors, and imbued with the spirit of Puritan intrepidity, they not only maintained, at every sacrifice, the right to think for themselves in matters of religion, but did think for themselves. They understood their own system of faith. Trained in the fires of persecution, and accustomed to the buffetings of the wintry blast, they could digest strong food. The solid nutriment of Christian truth gave them firmness in purpose, and vigor in execution for the work before them. But we are in danger of rearing a puny race of Christians, of sickly temperament; whose capricious appetite must be fed with delicacies;—a race of religious invalids, pallid and feeble, compared with the men of might, from whom they are descended.

"There may be a religion, which consists much in popular excitement, and which appears well in public meetings, and subscription lists, but is wanting in substance. It is a religion better adapted to parade in the soldier's uniform, than to encounter the marches of a wintry campaign, and the pushing of bayonets. When Christians generally shall be well instructed, in the great truths of the gospel; and shall exhibit the fruits of a solid, enlightened, consistent, fervent, enduring piety, the church will be 'terrible as an army with banners.'"

The twenty-third lecture, on "the cultivation of spiritual habits, and progress in study," has already been noticed in our pages. The next four discuss the subject of public prayer, the first sketching its history, the second remarking on the authority and expediency of liturgies, the third giving some general directions for the performance of this service, and the last describing some of its most common faults.

Next follow five sermons to illustrate the different modes of sermonizing described in the lectures. The insertion of sermons struck us at first as a departure from the author's main purpose; but examination has satisfied us of its wisdom. They are pretty fair specimens of Dr. Porter's ordinary style of preaching, and exhibit some excellencies that deserve to be studied by young preachers. Such sermons might not electrify an audience, for "his animal frame," he incidentally tells us, "has seldom been able for many years

to sustain that degree of emotion which he thinks is often desirable in the pulpit, and a sense of duty has required him to restrain those feelings on which the satisfaction and success of a preacher's labors greatly depend." Still their excellent spirit, their plain and popular logic, the purity, simplicity, and terseness of their diction, its perspicuity and precision, the directness of its appeals, and the vivacity of its illustrations, its uniform correctness, and its occasional touches of the sublime and the pathetic, render it in most respects a very good model for the student of sacred eloquence. Set it on fire, and its blaze would be admirable. The style proper for the pulpit is extremely difficult to be attained; but rarely have we seen sermons at once so free from defects, and so rich in positive excellencies. Cowper somewhere says, "he that speaks so as to be understood by a congregation of rustics, and yet in terms that would not offend academic ears, has found the happy medium;" and rarely, if ever, have we seen a style nearer such a medium than that of Dr. Porter.

The book is closed with three letters, two on books and reading, and the last on the course of rhetorical studies at Andover. These glance at topics sufficient in number and importance to fill a volume; and we hope Dr. Porter will, if possible, discuss several of them more at length, and give his views to the public. His remarks on authors are hardly extensive enough even for a syllabus of what ought to be said.

We have risen from the perusal of this work sincerely grateful to its author for the benefit we expect ourselves from it, and confident that the community of preachers and intelligent readers will coincide with us in our estimate of its excellence and value. Still we deem it very incomplete; nor does it profess to give what we so deeply need, a full and mature system of pulpit eloquence. Like all its predecessors, it is little more than a fragment, or cluster of fragments, on detached parts of the preacher's great work, and supplies but a small portion of the long and lamentable deficiencies in this department of instruction preparatory to the sacred office. We hope that some professor of rhetoric in our theological seminaries will ere long fill up this chasm, and give us a treatise on the art of preaching that will be to the young preacher what the institutes of Quintilian were to the secular orators of Rome.

We hardly know how to account for the omission of this



department in some of our theological seminaries. Its importance to the student's future usefulness in the ministry, is not surpassed by any other; and we are at a loss to imagine how the leading men in the Presbyterian church came to establish in their "schools of the prophets," a professorship of ecclesiastical history and church government, in preference to one of sacred rhetoric. Its duties are peculiarly arduous, and require more versatility of mind, greater variety of acquisitions, and a more constant stretch of the intellect and heart, than any other department of instruction. On this point we cannot forbear a quotation from the last letter in the volume before us.

"There is another consideration which has an important bearing on this department, namely, that while it requires a system of precepts, it is still to be taught as an *art* rather than as a science. After all the use that can be made of text-books, and rules, and authorities, the advancement of the student both in writing and delivery, depends essentially on *practice*. It is this that constitutes the endless labor in this branch of instruction. Classical exercises must be maintained as in the other departments, but to these must be superadded a system of *individual* instruction, such as is not required in any other business of the seminary. In regard to the more extended of these exercises, such as the private criticism of sermons, the attention to *each pupil* costs more labor than is ordinarily required of any professor in meeting a class. The amount of labor in instructing a large class, thus collectively and separately, is not easily understood by any one who has not made the experiment. For example; in giving instruction to a class, we all spend, in the act of teaching, about one hour. When I meet the senior class, for a lecture on sermonizing, I give instruction to thirty-five men, (supposing that to be its number,) in the same time as I should to ten. But taking these men in detail, as I have been accustomed to give *private* instruction in sermonizing, instead of one *hour's* work, I have at least that of *thirty-five days*; because to criticise a sermon with my eyes, and to review the writer's corrections of it, cannot be done in less than a day. And in the best labor-saving process that could be adopted, namely, hearing each man read his own sermon, it must cost about twelve days, the sitting being continued for six hours in a day. On this subject, of private criticism, I do not speak at random, having myself sustained the entire labor of it during eight years of my residence here, with only such incidental aid as could be rendered by my respected colleagues, already preoccupied with a pressing amount of duties in their own appropriate departments.

This labor varies somewhat from year to year, with the size of the classes, each student being expected to present for criticism on an average from four to six sermons, during the senior year."

The perusal of this work revived in our minds so deep an interest in a variety of topics connected with the business of preaching, that we took up our pen to discuss several of them at large. We wished especially to urge the vast importance of this department, and the necessity of more attention to it in the course of preparation for the ministry; to suggest some of the reasons why preachers of the gospel in general rise to so moderate a degree of excellence; to trace some of the causes, favorable and unfavorable, which have affected the character of the American pulpit, to mention the means indispensable for elevating the standard of preaching among us, and to glance at the prospects of this divine art in that era of glory to God, and blessedness to all mankind, which is now beginning to dawn on the world.

All these topics however we are reluctantly compelled to omit; but we cannot take leave of our author without letting him speak to our readers on a few points in which we feel a special interest. From what we have heard reported of British preachers, and what we have read of their sermons from Tillotson to the present day, we feel constrained to regard the remarks of Dr. Porter on the comparative excellence of the English and American pulpit as essentially just.

"A single remark I will take the liberty of making, in this connection, though by it I would not minister to that vanity, which has been said, (with too much truth doubtless,) to characterize our national literature. The remark is, that English sermons, have in general, less originality and strength of thought—less weight of matter, and of sound, evangelical instruction, than American sermons; and I will even add, less merit in point of diction. If this is true, while the intellectual rank of English preachers is presumed to be at least equal to those of our own country; and their skill in other departments of writing, is doubtless superior, the fact just stated must be ascribed to causes of latent but powerful influence. Probably not the least of these causes is, a somewhat prevalent custom, in the established church, according to which the preacher delivers as his own, what he extracted from books, or procured to be written for him by another man."

The following appeal may fall powerless on those who have grown gray in the ministry ; but we hope it will reach the bosom of all candidates for the sacred office, and rouse some of them to such a course of efforts as will prepare them ere long to exert with their pen, an influence that shall continue through future ages, to multiply their usefulness in a geometrical ratio.

"It was always a truth of importance, but is more eminently so now, than in any past period since the world began, that skill in wielding the pen is *moral power*. If used aright, it invariably confers respect on its possessor. When we see a perfect clock, we know that the maker acquired his skill, by studying the theoretic principles of his art, and by much practice ; and that the same man who made this, can make another. So when we see a finished composition, we know at once that it was produced by some gifted mind, accustomed to writing, and able to write again. So spontaneously do men judge in this manner, that a very short piece, like Gray's *Elegy*, sometimes confers a literary reputation on its author, for ages.

"But the respect which attaches to the capacity of writing well, (and the same is true of speaking, understood in the large sense, for the communication of thought,) is of a higher sort than that which belongs to any other effort of mind. In the imitative arts, as painting for example, a man may attain a good degree of celebrity, with little more than the capacity of *copying* well. Writing demands native resources. It depends on talent and discipline. A happy accident led to the discovery of the mariner's compass, and of the telescope ; but no accident contributed to produce the *Paradise Lost*, which was, in the strictest sense, the result of inventive genius.

"Hence the character of a nation depends essentially on her literary men ; because the very existence of these implies maturity and distinction, in other respects ; because the fame of her other great men, her warriors, for example, must be perpetuated chiefly through her writers ; and because her *books* are a truer standard of intellectual greatness, than her *looms*, or *commerce*, or *military achievements*. Sooner would Britain part with the fame even of her Marlborough or Nelson, than with that of her Newton, or Bacon, or Milton.

"The application of these general remarks is easy. Christian ministers, now coming on the stage, should not only *acquire* the power of writing well, but should *use* this power, for the glory of God, and the good of men. The combined influence of the *pen* and the *press*, is the most astonishing moral machinery that ever was set at work in this world. It is opening a new aspect on all the affairs of men. The question is settled too, that this

machinery will be kept in active operation, for good or for evil, in every civilized community. Greece and Rome in their glory had no press; and while this fact certainly contributed to the perfection of their *public speaking*, we cannot but wonder how they accomplished what they did, without the art of printing.

"But the intercommunication of thought is no longer restricted to impressions to be made on popular assemblies, nor to oral addresses in any form. The influence of the press can reach every man at his fireside, and at every hour of the day; it can carry hope to the peasant's cottage, or thunder the note of alarm to the ear of princes. As by the power of enchantment, it transfers the thoughts of one mind to millions of other minds, by a process silent and rapid, as the winds that sweep over a continent; or like the light of day, which traverses the nations by a succession almost instantaneous. The book that was printed last month in London, is reprinted perhaps this month, beyond the Alleghany mountains.

"Young men! destined to act for God and the church, in this wonderful day, think on this subject. Recollect that religious magazines, and quarterly journals, and tracts of various form, will control the public sentiment of the millions who shall be your contemporaries, and your successors on this stage of action for eternity. To whose management shall this vast moral machinery be intrusted, if the educated sons of the church, the rising ministry of the age, will shrink from the labor and responsibility of the mighty enterprise? *Learn* to use your pen, and *love* to use it. And in the great contest that is to usher in the triumph of the church,—let it not be said that you were too timid or indolent to bear your part."

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## ARTICLE IX.

### ADULTERATION OF WINES.

*A History and Description of Modern Wines.* By Cyrus Redding. London: Whitaker, Treacher, and Arnot. 1833. pp. 407.

THE first three chapters of this interesting volume are taken up in describing the vine, and the methods of making wine. Noah is supposed to have been the discoverer of the

vine, prior to the time of Dionysius of the Greeks, or the Bala Rama of the Hindoos. Alexander the Great found the wild vine on the banks of the Hydaspes. The mountains of Ferdistan, in Persia, it is very probable supplied the vines, which were first ameliorated by man. In America, no less than seventy kinds of wild vine are known, though not more than one half bear fruit. Vines were cultivated in France before the time of the Cæsars, first, it is believed at Marseilles. The first vineyards in Germany were in a cleared portion of the Black Forest. The general qualities of the plant are the same in all countries; they only vary in degree, as the action of the sun in a genial climate matures more or less those virtues upon which the excellence of the juice depends. The vine is a hardy plant, and it will grow so far north that it can do no more than blossom. The southern boundary of the wine country is in Asia, at Shiraz, in latitude 33 degrees. No good wine is made south of that city. Between Coblentz, or 51 degrees north, and Cyprus, 34 degrees 30 minutes, is comprised the vine district of Europe, an extent of sixteen degrees of surface. The principal countries in order of production as to character are France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Sicily, Greece, Hungary, Styria, Carinthia, and Transylvania. In 1831, 9,600,000 bottles of a red wine were made in Russian Crimea. Wine is cultivated for the table in almost every part of the United States. The American species of grape is not yet clearly understood. The fox grape is found as far north as Quebec. Whether plains or hills are the best situations for the vine has been much debated. The majority of rich wines are certainly produced on the sides of hills, either abruptly or gently inclined. In the northern countries, the southern aspect is preferred for vines; in the southern regions, the eastern. The age to which the vine bears well is from sixty to seventy years, or more; but in the common course of things it is six or seven years before it is in full bearing.

Grapes were anciently trodden out after being exposed on a level floor, to the action of the solar rays for ten days; they were then placed in the shade for five days more, in order to mature the saccharine matter. This practice is still followed in some of the islands of the Greek Archipelago. In some parts of France, two wooden cylinders, turning in opposite directions, are employed to crush the fruit. There is a still more complete invention by M. Acher, of Chartres, which does not permit a single grape to escape its action.

Chapters 4—13 of Mr. Redding's book inclusive, are taken up in describing the wines of different countries.

France is the vineyard of the earth. Her fertile soil, gentle acclivities, clear sunny skies, and fine summer temperature, place her in the foremost rank in the art of making wine. In eighty out of eighty-six departments wine is made, though of varying quality. The number of hectares, (about two and a half English acres,) in cultivation in the year 1823, was 1,736,056, or about 4,000,000 of acres. The annual mean product was valued at 540,389,298 francs, or £22,516,220 15*s.* sterling. A portion of the produce of the vines is distilled into brandy. The total values of wines and brandies exported from France into foreign countries in 1823, was 76,639,026 francs, or £3,193,293 15*s.* sterling. Brandy is also distilled from corn, potatoes, beer, perry, and cider. Some of the French wines will keep good for a very long time. Rousillon has been drank a century old, and still in high perfection. Many other kinds are found to be good at fifty and sixty years. The wines in France are subjected to heavy duties, exceeding twenty per cent. Together they amount to £4,800,000, and are very unequally levied. The commerce of France in wine by sea is largest from Bourdeaux. The next ports in importance are Marseilles, Montpellier, and Toulon. The wine consumed by retail in France was on a rough calculation, 14,500,000 hectolitres. (A hectolitre is a little more than 26 gallons English.) The wine sold wholesale for the most part to French families was calculated in 1826, to be 3,973,486 hectolitres.

The wines of Spain are raised on a soil most congenial to the culture of the vine. The sun ripens the grape without the hazard from chill and humidity to which, in a more northern climate, the vintage is constantly exposed. Hence the crop rarely fails. The Malaga, usually so called, is always mingled with a proportion of wine burned a little in the boiling, to impart its peculiar taste. The vineyards around Malaga, are estimated to produce annually between 30 and 40,000 butts of wine, of which 27,000 are exported, mostly to America. The islands of Majorca and Minorca are well situated for the culture of the vine. The Canaries produce annually about 25,000 pipes of white wine for exportation, while 15,000 are consumed in the islands, or submitted to distillation. The brandy thus distilled used to be sent to the Spanish colonies.

The German wines are a distinct class in character from all other wines. They are dry, well flavored, and endure age beyond example. They average about 12.08 per cent of alcohol. The importation of German wines into England, in 1631, was 71,423 gallons. Switzerland does not supply more wine than suffices for home consumption.

The wines of Portugal imported into England in the ten years from 1700 to 1710, were 81,293 tuns; from 1800 to 1810, 222,022 tuns. Wines most abominably adulterated were long imported into England from Portugal on account of the monopoly enjoyed by the Oporto company. In some years, 27,000 tuns of port wine have been imported into Great Britain, in every one of which, besides the portion of spirit in the wine, no less than six gallons of brandy have been artificially mingled, making *one hundred and sixty-two thousand gallons of ardent spirit!* To get rid of this liquid fire the wine must be kept a dozen years, and ruined in flavor, when it might be drunk in half the time by omitting the brandy. The quality of Portuguese brandy is for the most part execrable, being frequently distilled from figs and raisins, of which no other use can be made. The Portuguese once tried to make it from locust pods. The annual produce of the island of Madeira is reported to be about 25,000 pipes, of which about 5,000 reach England. The wines of Madeira always receive an admixture of brandy on exportation, the growers say, to enable them to bear the long sea voyages to which they are subjected. The Azores produce about 5,000 pipes of wine.

Some of the best wines in Italy are found in the kingdom of Naples. The soil being there volcanic, is eminently adapted to the vine. No wines are imported into England from Italy. Sardinia and Sicily produce wine in great abundance. The best vines grow on Mount Etna.

Many parts of Greece and of the Greek islands produce wine. The amount of wines raised on the main-land in Greece in 1816, according to Mr. Gordon, was valued at about £62,000. The territory of Greece has every variety of soil to produce the finest wines.

The wines of Asia are few and but little known. In Arabia the vine is cultivated by Jews and Christians, and the followers of the Koran as elsewhere, drink the juice in secret. At Jerusalem white wines are made, but of poor quality.

Wine is made in various parts of Africa, particularly at the Cape of Good Hope.

Chapter 14 contains some observations on the preservation, cellaring, and mellowing of wines.

Chapter 15 is employed on the highly interesting subject of the adulteration and sophistication of wines. The adulteration of wine, among that of other articles, has of late become almost a scientific pursuit. By the adulteration of wines, is not to be understood the mixture of two genuine growths for the sake of improvement, but in the first place, a clandestine amalgamation of an inferior kind of wine with one which is superior, to cheat the purchaser, by passing it off for what it is not; and secondly, what may be denominated the product of fictitious operations being passed off as genuine growth, yet having little or no grape juice in its composition.

The Jews knew nothing of the product of the distillery, and strengthened and mixed their wines with stimulating and intoxicating herbs. The Greeks and Romans rendered wine more intoxicating by the use of strong aromatics. Turpentine, rosin, and pitch, were mingled with them for this purpose. Distillation being unknown, spices or hot peppery substances, were had recourse to in certain countries.

The consumption of wine in Great Britain has not increased with the increase of population, while that of spirits is enormous. The following will show the amount of spirit-distillation in 1831, for home consumption only, in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

| Population.  | Wine Consumed. 1831.<br>gallons. | Spirits home-made. 1831. | For. spirits. | Colonial spirits. | Total spirits. |
|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 13,889,675 } | 6,928,460                        | { 7,732,101              | 1,267,397     | 3,503,141         | 12,502,639     |
| 2,365,930 }  |                                  | { 6,007,631              | 38,967        | 137,806           | 6,184,404      |
| 7,500,000 }  |                                  | { 9,004,539              | 10,406        | 18,011            | 9,032,956      |
| 23,755,605   | 7,724,369                        | 22,744,271               | 1,316,770     | 3,658,958         | 27,719,999     |

Thus the inhabitants of the United Kingdom swallow annually above a quart of wine a head, man, woman, and child, and more than a gallon of spirits, to say nothing of floods of malt-liquor, besides home-made wines, cider, and perry. In the better Bourdeaux wines, even when "*prepared*" for the English market, the qualities of the pure wine still exist. In the wines of Portugal, they cannot be traced at all. Indeed, so coarse are three fourths of the wine commonly drank in England, from the foregoing cause principally, operating as



a disguise for the vilest imitations, that they might easily be made without the juice of the grape forming a part of the composition. A person named Legrand, proposed to give wine, and even vinegar, not from the grape, the same apparent qualities as if they had been, by means of tartaric, citric, and oxalic acids, introduced into the wash or liquors during or after fermentation; the acids also to be mixed with spirituous liquors, for the purpose of converting them by acidification into vinegar, or by distillation into brandy; the same vegetable acids to be employed to increase the strength of vinegars, and imitate those made from wine. This idea is crude enough, but the intention is not the less dishonest. Quantities of wine have been made of brandy, cider, sugar, tartaric acid, logwood, elderberries, and alum.

New claret is made to imitate old, by uncorking and pouring a glass full out of each bottle, then corking the bottles, and placing them for a short time in an oven, to cool gradually, they are then filled up again and finally corked, and passed for nine-year old wine. Port is put into warm water, which is urged to the boiling point, and deposits a crust that looks the growth of years. Madeira is thus artificially treated.

So impudently and notoriously are frauds practised, that there are books published, called "Publicans' Guides," and "Licensed Victuallers' Directors," in which the most infamous receipts imaginable are laid down to swindle their customers. One of these recommends port wine to be manufactured, after sulphuring a cask, with twelve gallons of strong port, six of artificial spirit, three of cogniac brandy, forty-two of fine rough cider; making sixty-three gallons, which cost about eighteen shillings a dozen. Another receipt is forty-five gallons of cider, six of brandy, eight of port wine, two gallons of sloes stewed in two gallons of water, and the liquor pressed off. If the color is not good, tincture of red sanders or cudbear is directed to be added. This may be bottled in a few days, and a tea-spoon full of powder of catechu being added to each, a fine crusted appearance on the bottles will follow quickly. The ends of the corks being soaked in a strong decoction of Brazil wood, and a little alum, will complete the process, and give them the appearance of age. Oak bark, elder, Brazil wood, privet, beet, turnsole, are all used in making fictitious port wine. The basis of the adulteration of Madeira is Vidonia, mingled

with a little port, mountain, and cape wine, sugar-candy, and bitter almonds, and the color made lighter or deepened to the proper shade as the case may require.

A large quantity of bad wine is passed off in London in exchange for other goods. This opens another system of dishonesty and fraud, purchaser and seller each striving to outvie the other in trickery. The wine-seller generally, it need not be remarked, has the advantage on his side.

There are a variety of tests which may be applied to the more vulgar adulterations by those who do not understand chemistry. Sulphur will detect the presence of lead, turning the wine black or dark if it be present. Sulphurated hydrogen gas, accelerated by muriatic acid, will detect it in a moment. Alum is detected by equal quantities of limewater and wine being mixed and examined within sixteen hours, when if there be no alum, crystals will be found, easily separable by filtration; a muddy deposit will be seen if there be. The presence of coloring bodies is least injurious, and may be discovered by numerous tests, such as limewater, if herb root has been employed; and acetate of lead, if bilberries, elder or logwood have been employed. The best mode where adulteration is suspected, is to apply to any chemist of tolerable skill, who can easily analyze the wine.

Dr. Paris has made some ingenious observations, the result of experiment, upon the alcoholic principle in wine. If alcohol or brandy be mingled with water, in the proportion of one fourth of spirit to a quart, this gives half a pint of pure brandy. The effect of such a combination taken frequently into the stomach, it is easy to comprehend. The same quantity of alcohol, however, contained in a quart of wine, formed and combined with it, in the natural process of fermentation, is by no means so intoxicating or prejudicial to the constitution. With the natural wine, it is moderated in its effects, so as to exert much less power on the stomach. But in England, the natural alcohol of the wine is not deemed sufficient. Wines containing twenty per cent of brandy naturally, are strengthened by the artificial mixture of a quantity which is raw, and which never combines in the natural way with the wine itself, notwithstanding the practice of "fretting in," by the wine-merchant. How this difference on the constitution between combined and uncombined alcohol happens, baffles the power of science to explain. In wine mingled with brandy, the exhilaration is the

first access of fever, and the head and stomach suffer severely for the indulgence, not to comment on the certain ruin to the constitution of the individual, who constantly uses such wines without taking them to excess in the shape of indigestion, and ultimately of apoplexy or dropsy.

The subject of the adulteration of wines, it is obvious, is one of great interest in this country. The following statement of wines imported into the United States for the years ending September 1829, and September 1831, indicate the quantity used in this country.

## 1829.

|                                                    | Gallons.        |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Madeira, . . . . .                                 | 282,660         |
| Burgundy, Champagne, Rhenish, and Tokay, . . . . . | 23,562          |
| Sherry and St. Lucar, . . . . .                    | 62,689          |
| Wines of Portugal and Sicily, . . . . .            | 352,350         |
| Teneriffe and Azores, . . . . .                    | 61,467          |
| Claret, &c., in bottles or cases, . . . . .        | 356,332         |
| Other wines, . . . . .                             | 1,838,251       |
|                                                    | <hr/> 2,977,311 |

## 1831.

|                                                      | Gallons.        |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Madeira, . . . . .                                   | 114,625         |
| Sherry, . . . . .                                    | 78,906          |
| Red of France and Spain, . . . . .                   | 934,451         |
| France, Spain and Germany, not enumerated, . . . . . | 1,888,355       |
| Portugal, Sicily, &c. . . . .                        | 663,725         |
|                                                      | <hr/> 3,680,061 |

It is well known that Madeira and port wines, which form a considerable part of the wines imported into this country, derive additional potency from the brandy added to them previously to exportation. After their arrival here they undergo other processes. Few wines naturally possess much flavor or color. The flavor is however often generated by the application of bitter almonds, oak chips, orris root, wormwood, rose-water, &c., while color is produced by the use of dye-woods, logwood, berries, burnt sugar, iron, &c.

A very interesting examination has lately been commenced on this subject by the gentlemen connected with the New York State Temperance Society. At the late annual meeting of that Society, Dr. Lewis C. Beck, an eminent chemist of Albany, communicated the following observations.

Table showing the specific gravity of various kinds of wine—and the proportion of alcohol per cent. by measure contained in each, estimated by a reference to the tables of Mr. Gilpin; the specific gravity of the standard alcohol, being 0.825 at 60° Faht.—also the equivalent of pure brandy in each: the brandy containing 53.39 per cent. by measure of alcohol of the above strength.

| WINE.                                                                                                                                                | Specific gravity before dilution. | Specific gravity after dilution. | Proportion of alcohol per ct. by measure. | Proportion of brandy per ct. by measure. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <i>Madeira</i> —(purchased in this city.)                                                                                                            | 0.9939                            | 0.9716                           | 25.77=                                    | 48.26                                    |
| <i>Madeira</i> —(ordered from Madeira to India, 10 years since—in bottle 8 years—first importation in Brammin, from Mr. Delavan.)                    | 0.9918                            | 0.9767                           | 20.66=                                    | 38.69                                    |
| <i>Port</i> —(labelled Superior Port as imported—in bottle 7 years—from Mr. Delavan.)                                                                | 0.9657                            | 0.9747                           | 22.34=                                    | 41.84                                    |
| <i>Madeira</i> —(Farquahar—supposed to have been in bottle 30–40 years—from Mr. Delavan.)                                                            | 0.9898                            | 0.9757                           | 21.79=                                    | 40.81                                    |
| <i>Madeira</i> —(old wine—sent to India—then bottled and brought to this country—probably 20 years old—from Delavan.)                                | 0.9888                            | 0.9763                           | 21.04=                                    | 39.40                                    |
| <i>Madeira</i> —(purchased in this city.)                                                                                                            | 0.9893                            | 0.9752                           | 22.16=                                    | 41.50                                    |
| <i>Madeira</i> —(made from the late Mr. Clark's vineyard in Madeira, in 1806, being the pure unmixed juice of the grape, received from Mr. O. Kane.) | 0.9929                            | 0.9782                           | 19.17=                                    | 35.90                                    |

In many points of view this subject is deserving of most serious consideration. Much which is drank for wine at the communion table, is a vile mixture of alcohol, and every thing else rather than the juice of the grape. The drinking of it is no more compliance with the injunction of our Saviour, than to drink tar-water, or a decoction from the beet root. It is very manifest also that the drinking of wine is a great obstacle to the advance of temperance. But can it be imported free from an intermixture with alcohol? And if it can be, what would then be the effect of its general use: or in other words, what is the moral condition of the inhabitants of wine-growing countries, and how is that condition affected by the use of wine?

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The principal writers on this subject are Mago, 550 B. C., Columella, Du Halde, Lebat, Bacci, Sir Edward Barry, 1775, Dru, Dussieux, Clemente, Tavernier, Bowditch, Gay-Lussac, Jullien, Inglis, Brande, Chaptal, and particularly Dr. Henderson, who gives in one volume quarto, 1824—an able view of the whole subject. Mr. Redding's book is in most respects a good one. The wood cuts, and some other things in respect to "the good fellowship," produced by drinking wine, are dishonorable to it. It is also entirely destitute of information in regard to vineyards and wine in America.

## ARTICLE X.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Elements of Rhetoric.* By Richard Whately, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Cambridge: Brown, Shattuck, & Co. 1833. pp. 347.

IN the introduction to this work, we are told, that rhetoric, at the present day, embraces, in its widest acceptance, "all composition in prose," and, in its narrowest sense, "persuasive speaking." The author proposes to himself a middle course, and treats of "argumentative composition generally and exclusively, considering rhetoric as an offset from logic."

We cannot help thinking it unfortunate for this department of education, that so great indefiniteness exists as to the objects and limits of the rhetorical art. Many are ready to conclude, that if even the teachers of the art are not in themselves agreed upon its extent, and the points of instruction which it offers, it cannot, as a branch of education, lay claims to much practical utility. Those, however, familiar with the history of rhetoric, can well account for this indefiniteness in the use of the term. They know, that in those early ages of the world, when the power of eloquence was the sway of the orator over the assembled multitude around him, it was in the schools of the rhetoricians that this power was acquired. They know, that, in ages of greater refinement, to awaken emotions of taste, became the leading object of writers and speakers, and that these tropes and figures, and the various elegancies and ornaments of style, were cared for by the rhetorician. They know, also, that, at a later period, the term rhetoric was extended, so as to embrace the whole circle of the liberal arts and sciences;—thus Quintilian professed to take the child *ab incunabulis* and train it up for the forum. And further, they have seen that in modern times, as the principle of division of labor has been introduced into our systems of education, it has been attempted to circumscribe the limits of the art, and thus indefiniteness has arisen.

We shall not of course attempt to decide a question, on which our rhetorical Rabbis disagree, and to determine, what rhetoric is, or what are its limits. We have the general notion, that it is an art, whose design is to aid the writer and speaker in the communication of their thoughts. And if we look at Dr. Whately's division of his work, we find that he has the same impression, though he has told us that the peculiar province of rhetoric is the invention and exhibition of arguments. This division is fourfold.

1. Conviction. 2. Persuasion. 3. Style. 4. Elocution. We propose to tell our readers, very briefly, what course the author has taken in treating on each of these divisions, or, as he calls them, parts of his book.

Part 1, on Conviction, treats on the invention, arrangement and introduction of propositions and arguments. After a few judicious remarks on the nature of propositions, a classification is made of arguments "according to the relation of the subject-matter of the premises to the conclusion." This classification is twofold. The former embraces such arguments, as might have been employed to *account for* the fact or principle maintained, supposing its truth granted. The other class comprehends all other arguments. A description of the different kinds of arguments follows, with directions as to their various uses and the order of their introduction.

That the knowledge conveyed in this first part of Dr. Whately's rhetoric, should be possessed by every student, is without question highly important. It has however occurred, to us, while reading, or rather studying this portion of his work, that the same views might be presented in a more obvious and simple manner. As a text-book, it should have less technicality, and more of illustration.

Part 2, on Persuasion, is in our view by far the most valuable portion of the work. Persuasion, according to Dr. Whately, "depends on, first, argument to prove the expediency of the means proposed, and secondly what is usually called *exhortation*, i. e., the incitement of men to adopt those means by representing the end as sufficiently desirable." Men not only need to have the right path pointed out to them; they need to be urged to walk therein. So far as persuasion depends on argument, what is said in the preceding part of the work is applicable here. Hence this part is occupied with some miscellaneous rules, relating to whatever in composition is designed to influence the will. There is a rich vein of common sense in the two short chapters which follow, and which make up this part of the book. The views given are we think philosophical and practical, and we commend them to the attention and observance of those, who at the bar, or in the pulpit, or the deliberate assembly, would *persuade* their fellow-men.

Part 3, on Style, is occupied in pointing out what is conducive to perspicuity, energy and elegance, as traits of style. Most of the rules and illustrations are those of Campbell, with the occasional introduction of some pertinent remarks and new examples. The view which the writer takes of style, relates only to argumentative compositions, and, though not sufficiently minute and extended for a system of rhetoric, corresponds to his design.

In Part 4, on Conviction, Dr. Whately advances opinions, to which we are not prepared to yield our assent. He lays down

but one rule in elocution—*be natural*; think not of the manner but of the matter, and be accommodated in all respects to the circumstances around you. Our common systems of instruction in elocution, he calls artificial, and he objects to them, that from the nature of the case, they can but partially effect their proposed design—that they would lead us in a circuitous road to the desired end—that they result in offensive affectation. He then considers and obviates some objections to his own proposed system, if it may be so called, and closes with a few practical deductions, one of which is, that declamations, and the usual course of instruction in this branch, are useless, or rather injurious, and may be dispensed with.

Were we permitted to give but one direction to the pulpit in elocution, it should certainly be that of Dr. Whately; and if what he has in view could be effected, if the pulpit-orator could be led to speak naturally, accommodating his manner to the thoughts he delivers, and the circumstances in which he is placed, we should ask nothing more. But our experience as an instructor, and it is of some years' continuance, and has brought us in contact with some hundreds of pupils, tells us, that this is not enough. In fact, the old system of instruction in this department, was too nearly that of Dr. Whately. The general remark was made to the pupil—"Your manner of speaking is faulty. You must amend it. Be natural." And the result most frequently was, no improvement was made. The student knew, as well as his instructor, that his manner of speaking was faulty, but he did not know what his faults were, and what remedies were to be applied; and it is precisely in these points, where he needs assistance, that Dr. Whately's system fails him.

In reading Dr. Whately's objections to a more minute course of instruction in elocution than he proposes, we think, that there is an important distinction, which is kept out of sight; and which, if seen, would have relieved him from some of his apprehensions and removed his objections. He does not distinguish between rules, as they are applied for the correction of faults, and as they are designed to form speakers. We should expect consequences, such as he has stated, to follow attempts to make speakers by rule. But this is not the design of the rules found in our modern systems of elocution; they aim rather at the correction of faults—they would lead the pupil to see wherein he has departed from nature, and how he may return. One branch of the art—gesticulation—offers a pertinent illustration of this design. The gestures of a child are natural—there is ease, and gracefulness, and propriety, and every good trait about them. But this child becomes an awkward boy. He is called upon to declaim in school, or at a more advanced period of life, to address an assembly. He gesticulates, and he is to the extreme, awkward, unnatural, and ungraceful. What is to be done? Shall we

simply say to him, be natural, or shall we endeavor to show him wherein his manner is faulty, and how these faults may be remedied. We think that the latter is the proper course, and that the rules of elocution have this purpose in view.

One remark upon the subject of declamations, to which our author objects. We know and we feel the difficulties and objections which exist on this subject. But what substitution can be made? Young men have faults in reading and speaking, which it is important they should see and amend, and that too before the power of habit has come in to establish and confirm them. Real life, from the nature of the case, affords no opportunity for the needed discipline. Is it not better then to retain the present plan of declamations, with all its objections, than to lose the benefits it offers?

With these exceptions, we look upon Whately's *Rhetoric*, or, as it might perhaps with more propriety be styled, his treatise on argumentative composition, as a valuable work, and as an important accession to this department of study.

2.—*Review, Historical and Political, of the late Revolution in France, and of the Consequent Events in Belgium, Poland, Great Britain, and other parts of Europe. By Caleb Cushing. In two volumes. Boston: Carter, Hendee, & Co. Newburyport: Thomas B. White. 1833. pp. 410 and 350.*

THE last week of July, 1830, forms a memorable epoch, and deserves, above any equally short period in the annals of the modern world, to be styled, as it has been by the French, *La grande Semaine*. Its scenes in themselves compose a tragedy, perfect in all the unities of time, place, and action, to which history furnishes no parallel. The world gazed upon it, as its several acts passed in rapid succession before them, with astonishment; tyrants trembled; freemen exulted; and the hearts of the oppressed, that had long been sick with "hope deferred," revived. In this country the spectacle was viewed with mingled exultation and fear. Americans rejoiced at the downfall of the selfish, bigoted, impotent tyrant; they trembled for France. Had she thrown off the vampire that was gorging himself upon her bosom, only to tear open her vitals with her own hands, and scatter them bleeding to be rent and trampled under foot by the swinish multitude? or was she sane enough to invite to her arms some constitutional protector and lord, who should cherish, defend, and love her "as his own body"? Would France renew the horrors of '89, or had she learned by her bitter experience, that order, subordination, and law, are quite as essential to happiness, as liberty itself,—nay, constitute, not limit or define, the only liberty, that can have any objective existence?—These



were the questions that agitated the minds of thoughtful Americans, and for the solution of which, they anxiously waited the developments of time. If the interest which was felt in the events of the "Three Days" at the time, was intense, subsequent events have not tended to diminish that interest. The revolutions in Belgium, Poland, and Great Britain, of which that of the "Three Days" was the proximate cause, followed in rapid succession. "The empire of darkness," in the emphatic language of Robert Hall, "was smitten by a stroke, which sounded through the universe." All Europe was shaken. The whole foundations of society seemed to be volcanic. The groanings and muttering thunders of the compressed and struggling energies within, could be heard in every direction. Political forecast was baffled in the effort to estimate their power, or calculate and limit their eruption. But the time of anxious suspense has passed away. The time has come, philosophically to review the past, and anticipate the future. This Mr. Cushing professes to have done in the volumes, whose title stands at the head of this article. Numerous histories and sketches of these events have been published. But no connected and philosophical view of them, has, so far as we know, been attempted before. The work of Mr. C. is therefore timely and acceptable. One half of the first volume is very properly occupied with a preliminary "Retrospect of European Civilization," and "Idea of the French Revolution of '89." The former, which is "mainly derived from the 'Cours d' Histoire' of M. Guizot," is very interesting and valuable. We take exception to but a single view,—that which represents the reformation "not as a philosophical scheme of moral purity, but as the irresistible impulse of European MIND to think for itself, by its own energies, and upon its own volitions." The reformation was the development of the energies of pure Christianity. The gospel was the pioneer of science and freedom, not a mere follower in their train; the *causa causans* of the political and intellectual disenthralment of man, and not a link in the chain moved by the deified spirit of liberty.

The 'Review of the Revolutions,' in respect to the state of political parties and opinions, diplomatic and military movements, is thorough, lucid, and graphic. Much fuller details, especially of thrilling incident and chivalrous anecdote, adapted to the popular taste, are given in some other works. "Paris and its Historical Scenes," published in the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," would interest a common mind much more than Mr. Cushing's Review of the Three Days. A thinking man, who deals with principles, rather than insulated facts, would be more interested in the latter. But there is a deficiency in a philosophical point of view even in these volumes; a deficiency which exists in nearly all the histories that have ever been written. In investigating the causes, and estimating the probable

effects of the revolutions, strictly political considerations are alone taken into the account. The state of the public *mind*, its intelligence and various party tendencies, are ably exhibited; that of the public *heart* and *conscience* is scarcely alluded to. It may be doubted whether a "review" which should include these, would beam with such "bright promise for regenerate France," as the one before us. That the cause of human liberty and improvement has gained much by the recent revolutions, we have no doubt. But France must rear again her thrown-down altars, and re-invoke her insulted and rejected God, and re-hallow the profaned Sabbath, and re-acknowledge the despised Bible, and become indeed "regenerate," before she can "march side by side with England, as the advance-guard of the civilization of Europe," or enjoy internal security and happiness.

As to the right of revolution and resistance to government, which is assumed in these volumes to reside in the people, subject only to the limitation of their will, we differ from Mr. C. There are undoubtedly cases, where nothing short of the remedy of violent resistance is sufficient. But in regard to these we adopt the language of Burke. "The speculative line of demarkation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act, or a single event, which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged indeed, before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in that lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those, whom nature has qualified to administer in extremities this critical, ambiguous, bitter potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations, will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable from sensibility to oppression; the high-minded from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold from the love of honorable danger in a generous cause; but with, or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good."

The style of these volumes is vigorous and bold, with occasionally a little too much effort at intensity and point. The very frequent introduction of French words and phrases is objectionable. The mere English reader would need a glossary. Mr. C. may claim some apology from his subject; not sufficient, however, to justify this unnecessary pollution of the "undefiled wells" of our noble English.

A few skeleton maps would have added to the value of the volumes, as much of the details of military operations is utterly unintelligible without them. With the exceptions we have specified, we commend these volumes to our readers, as well worthy a careful perusal.

3.—*The Poetical Works of John Milton, a new edition, with Notes, and a Life of the Author, in two volumes.* Boston : Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1834. pp. 371, 478.

THE style in which these volumes is brought out is worthy of all commendation. The paper is remarkably clear and firm, the type large and distinct, and the whole execution, as far as we can judge, perfect. We read the *Paradise Regained* through at one sitting, and we did not detect a single typographical or other error in the compass of the four books. Some of the previous American editions are intolerable, while most of the others are merely respectable. We hope the publishers of this edition will be amply remunerated, for they have certainly done a great service to all who revere the name of the poet. The type is so large as to be adapted to persons advanced in life and of feeble vision, while it will be a relief to those who are compelled to study foreign languages, or intricate documents in their own tongue. This edition contains in the first place a life of Milton, compiled by the Rev. John Mitford, a clergyman of the established church. It is a temperate and judicious selection from the mass of materials furnished by preceding biographers, accompanied with discriminating remarks of his own. Some interesting miscellaneous matters respecting Milton's agreement with his printer, his last will, the robbery of his grave, &c., are then brought forward in an appendix. Then follow the encomiastic poems of Dr. Barrow and Andrew Marvell. These are succeeded by the *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, *Comus*, *Lycidas*, *Il Penseroso*, *L' Allegro*, *Arcades*, twelve miscellaneous poems, twenty-three sonnets, versification of nineteen psalms, and all his Latin poems. These last occupy about eighty pages.

We do not know that a complete American edition of Milton's prose works is desirable, containing as they do much which every enlightened lover of the poet's memory must condemn. An edition could not probably be sold. Yet we cannot but wish that a wider extension were given to some of his noble treatises, and paragraphs, which for magnificence and music of period, and greatness of thought, are scarcely excelled by his poetry. A complete edition of his prose was published in England by the Rev. Dr. Symonds, a few years since. The titles of the principal works are the following: *On Prelatical Episcopacy*, *Reasons of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, *Animadversions upon a Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*, *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, *On Education*, *Areopagitica* a *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, *Tetrachordon*, *Colasterion* or *Reply to an answer on Divorce*, *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, *Observations on Articles of Peace*, *Eikonoklastes*, *Treatise of Civil Power*

in Ecclesiastical Causes, History of Britain, History of Muscovy, Second Defence of the People of England, and a Treatise on Christian Doctrine.

We learn from Todd's first edition of Milton's Poetry, published in 1801, that there had been up to that time published in England, as far as he could learn, one hundred and four distinct editions of Milton's Poems, or parts of them; in other countries the following, six in the Greek language, fifteen in Latin, six in Italian, eleven in French, eight in Dutch and German, and five in Portuguese. There had also been fifteen alterations or paraphrases or parodies, forty-nine distinct criticisms, and seventeen laudatory poems.

- 4.—*History of the Hartford Convention, with a Review of the Policy of the United States' Government, which led to the war of 1812. By Theodore Dwight, Secretary of the Convention.* New York: N. & J. White. Boston: Russell, Odiorne, & Co. 1833. pp. 447.

THE darkest period in the history of this country was that from 1806 to 1815. There were indeed times that tried men's souls during the Revolution. When Washington was left with his ill-clothed, ill-fed, and rapidly diminishing army to skulk about the plains of New Jersey and Delaware, satisfied, if with more than Fabian skill, he could but elude and weary out his foes, and Congress with a depreciating currency, and no other power to raise men or money, but mere paper requisitions on the States, could afford him no relief, the prospect was indeed dubious. The sun of American Independence was in deep eclipse. But behind the cloud, it still poured its rays in full, warm and united beams. The people still loved the cause, confided in its justice, were united among themselves, and the determination to resist, though relaxed from temporary exhaustion, was as fixed and resolute as ever. Not so in the years 1806—1815. Then the country was rent into factions, the one party devotedly following the beck of their leaders, and ratifying any apparent violations of the constitution, and the other jealous of the government, and sensitive in the extreme to every exertion of executive power, how far soever within the chartered limits of its authority. The new ship of state, which from 1789 to 1806 had rode so proudly and prosperously on a calm sea, now for the first time encountered the terrific war of elements, which European politics had raised. Dark clouds, storm and tempest lowered without, and mutiny raged within. Who could predict the fearful result?—The time to write a faithful and impartial history of that period, has not perhaps arrived. But whenever such a history shall be written, and some master-spirit, with the penetration and philosophy of a Burke,

shall detect and expose, that secret viciousness of the constitution, or that insidious bane of popular governments, which brought us to the very brink of ruin, it will be the most instructive and important, as it certainly is the most mortifying portion of our history.—Mr. Dwight's book might have been more appropriately entitled, 'A history of the diplomacy, foreign policy, and relations of the government of the United States, from the close of Washington's administration to the year 1815.' It consists for the most part of extracts from the diplomatic correspondence, executive messages, reports of departments, &c., of the period. As the work is professedly a vindication of the principles, measures and objects of the friends of the convention, it necessarily involves a crimination of the principles, measures and objects of the dominant party. From public documents and private correspondence, it is attempted to be shown, that "an ardent and overweening attachment to revolutionary France, and an implacable enmity to Great Britain, were the governing principles" of the administrations of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison. Mr. Jefferson's own declarations contained in his posthumous works, his opposition to the treaty of Mr. Jay in 1794, his repeated refusals to renew that treaty, his rejection of the treaty of Mr. King in 1803, relative to the northern boundary, as also of that of Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney in 1807, and his whole "restrictive system," are the principal proofs adduced in support of this proposition. "The evidence on which it rests," says the writer, "is derived from the public documents of the government, from state papers published by their authority, and from other sources equally creditable. Its authenticity therefore cannot be doubted; and the only question, that can be raised is, whether it is sufficient to establish the point for which it is adduced. On this subject, if the author is not greatly deceived, there will be little room for dispute. The chain of evidence is, in his opinion, entire, its credit unimpeachable, its force irresistible."

This review of the origin and causes of the war of 1812, occupies about one half the volume. It is of course *ex parte*. But as it is made up principally of extracts from public documents and state papers, and that too, not garbled and tortured, but copious, unequivocal, and sometimes entire, we do not see how the force of evidence can be evaded. If these documents are allowed to speak out their "plain, unvarnished tale," the inevitable conclusion is, that the war of 1812 was unnecessary and unjust.

The latter half of the volume is occupied with a review of the measures adopted by the government in the prosecution of the war, and the measures of the opposition in Connecticut and Massachusetts, the "Report" and "Secret Journal" of the Convention. Mr. Dwight contends that the country was utterly unprepared for war, so that the war, even if it had been just, was

premature, and that the probable reason of its declaration at that particular juncture was, that it might operate as a diversion in favor of Buonaparte just setting out on his Russian expedition. The policy of the government in attempting to transfer the war from the United States to Canada, thus wreaking its horrors on the unoffending inhabitants of those colonies, and leaving the sea-board, by far the wealthiest and most important portion of the United States, exposed without defence to the incursions of a powerful maritime foe, he condemns in no measured terms.

The claim set up by president Madison to control and subject to superior United States' officers the militia of the States, in view of prospective, not actual, or imminent invasion, is strongly contested, and the conduct of Massachusetts and Connecticut in resisting this claim, defended. That the president transcended the powers granted him by the Constitution, in attempting to reduce the militia to the condition of regular soldiers, and subject them to the "rules and articles of war," is, we think, clearly proved. That the governors and legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut adopted the legal remedy, is not proved. Mr. Story in his recent Commentaries on the Constitution, maintains that the president is necessarily constituted the "sole and exclusive judge of the exigency" in the first instance, and that every officer to whom the orders of the president are addressed, must obey. "At a very recent period," he says, "the question came before the Supreme Court of the United States for a judicial decision, and it was then unanimously determined, that the authority to decide, whether the exigency has arisen, belongs exclusively to the president, and that his decision is conclusive upon all other persons." The principle maintained by Mr. Webster in his reply to Mr. Hayne, and which is more fully developed and asserted in his speech in answer to Mr. Calhoun is, that resistance to laws of Congress, or to executive authority, by individual citizens or States, is "essentially revolutionary;" that the constituted authorities are necessarily the judges in the first instance of the extent of their own powers, and that the only legal and constitutional mode of resistance to unconstitutional laws or extensions of executive prerogative, is by a resort to the "appellate power of the Supreme Court."

As a curious and instructive illustration of the despotism of faction, and of the unconstitutional and tyrannical measures, to which in times of great party violence, virtuous and patriotic men may be led to resort, we would refer the reader to Mr. Monroe's (Secretary of War, 1814) "FIRST PLAN" for filling up the regular army of the United States by drafts from the whole body of citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five;—a system of conscription, which, if it had ever been carried into effect, would have been more horrible and oppressive in its operation,

than was ever its archetype, the famous conscriptive system of the French emperor.

In regard to the Hartford Convention itself, which grew out of these real or supposed violations of the Constitution on the part of the government, the right of citizens or States to assemble in Convention, *under the Constitution*, and deliberate on constitutional remedies for their grievances, cannot be questioned. This the members of the Hartford Convention *professed* to do. Their report is an able, temperate, patriotic paper. Their bitterest enemies have not been able to detect any treason in it. Their "Secret Journal" which is solemnly assevered by their president and secretary to contain "a faithful and complete record of all the motions, resolutions, votes, and proceedings of that Convention," is equally unexceptionable. It is time that the public mind were disabused of its misapprehension of the characters, motives, and objects of these able, patriotic and abused men. Mr. Dwight's book will do this for every candid man, who will read it.

5.—*The Cottage Bible, and Family Expositor; containing the Old and New Testaments, with Practical Expositions and Explanatory Notes. By Thomas Williams. To which are added the References and Marginal Readings of the Polyglott Bible, together with Original Notes, and Selections from Bagster's Comprehensive Bible, and other Standard Works, Introductory and Concluding Remarks on each Book of the Old and New Testaments, and a valuable Chronological Index, the whole carefully Revised, and adapted to the use of Sunday Schools and Bible Classes, and Christians generally, embellished with Maps and Engravings. Edited by Rev. Wm. Patton. Complete in two volumes. New York: Conner & Cooke. 1833. pp. 1,440.*

MR. WILLIAMS, the English editor of these volumes, has endeavored to compress the substance of numerous and expensive works into the smallest compass, and to add in the most concise form, such practical suggestions and remarks as appeared to him to be important. He has frequently adverted to sciences connected with religion, and to the observations of travellers in the Holy Land, illustrating the curiosities of sacred literature. The introduction of Hebrew and Greek characters is avoided. The critical notes, it is supposed, will require nothing but a common English education to render them intelligible. In the English edition, considerable portions of the text were printed in small type, to denote that they were "unsuitable to be read in families." Upon these the author furnished no exposition. In the American edition the type of the text is very properly printed uniform

throughout. With the exception of the books of Chronicles, an exposition has been supplied, by selections from Dr. Scott's Commentary. Mr. Patton has given a full and complete table of chronology at the close, and copious selections from the very valuable dissertation on the divine authority of the sacred Scriptures, prepared by the late William Greenfield, and which forms the Introduction to Bagster's Comprehensive Bible. The centre column, containing the marginal readings and references of the Polyglott Bible, have been added, as have very full contents of the chapters. The notes are considerably increased by selections from Bagster, John Owen, John Pye Smith, Watts, bishop Lowth, Keith, president Edwards, Willet, Poole, Henry, Scott, professor Stuart, and others. A variety of tables, wood cuts, engravings on steel, and maps, greatly increase the value of the publication. A portion of the engravings were first inserted in Dr. Bedell's Religious Souvenir. Samson carrying off the Gates of Gaza, and the Crucifixion, are remarkably expressive. Over the crucifixion the genius of John Martin has thrown a kind of gorgeousness of sublimity,

—"underneath them fair Jerusalem,  
The holy city, lifted high her towers,  
And higher yet the glorious temple reared  
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount  
Of alabaster, topped with golden spires."

We have made considerable use of the Cottage Bible for a few weeks past, and can testify to its general fidelity and orthodoxy. In the selection of comments and illustrations, the editors have gone considerably out of the common range, and have given new meaning and fresh interest to many passages. The text and principal commentaries are printed in large and distinct type. We cordially wish a large measure of patronage to the enterprise. It is exceedingly well fitted to the wants of Sabbath school teachers and Bible classes, as well as of families.

6.—*Lectures on General Literature, Poetry, &c., delivered at the Royal Institution in 1830 and 1831. By James Montgomery.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1833. pp. 324.

IN the first lecture, the pre-eminence of poetry among the fine arts is asserted. In the second lecture, though Mr. Montgomery does not attempt to define the nature or essence of poetry, he affirms that "that which is highest, purest, loveliest, and most excellent to the eye or the mind, in reference to any object, either of the senses or the imagination, is *poetical*." The third lecture is taken up on the form, and the fourth on the diction of



poetry. He thus writes of a great contemporary poet. "Mr. Wordsworth himself, though not a popular writer, nor one who ever can be, in the popular sense of the phrase, till the boasted march of intellect has made much more way than it is likely to do for half a century to come; Mr. Wordsworth himself has established a reputation of the proudest rank upon the surest basis—the admiration of the most intellectual class of readers, who can distinguish what is exquisite from what is puerile, what is grand from what is obscure, and what is imaginative from what is merely fanciful, in his own multifarious productions." Yet Mr. Montgomery thinks that he has accomplished this by going beyond his theory, "that in his most successful efforts, he has attired in diction of the most transcendent beauty, thoughts the most recondite, and imaginations the most subtle;" "that when he would present '*ordinary* things in an *unusual* way,' he is compelled to resort to gorgeous, figurative, and amplifying terms, and avail himself of the most daring license of poetic diction."

In the fifth lecture, Mr. Montgomery makes some remarks upon various species of poetry—narrative, allegorical, dramatic, religious, didactic and descriptive, lyric, metrical romances, poetry for the young, translated poetry. The last lecture is occupied with some excellent remarks on the themes and influences of poetry. Five short dissertations conclude the volume—three containing a retrospect of literature from the earliest period to the twelfth century of the Christian era, and two exhibiting the condition of modern English literature.

Montgomery is another proof that poets excel in writing prose. Where in *Paradise Lost* has the genius of Milton broken out in greater splendor than in the *Areopagitica*? The prefaces of Wordsworth are scarcely less interesting than the *Excursion*. In *Montgomery's Prose by a Poet*, and in the present volume, there are passages, which he has never rivalled in his poetry. The characteristics of his writings are a playful fancy, good sense, a sweet tinge of melancholy, great liberality of feeling and candor of judgment, and pure religious sensibilities. In the last respect as well as in some others, he deserves to be laid on the same shelf with Cowper. The volume shows in a remarkable degree how the spirit of an elevated piety may be diffused through all literature, silently though delightfully. The principal publications of Mr. Montgomery are *Prison Amusements*, *Whisperer*, *Battle of Alexandria*, *Wanderer of Switzerland*, *West Indies*, *World before the Flood*, *Verses to the Memory of Richard Reynolds*, *Thoughts on Wheels*, *Greenland*, *Songs to Foreign Music*, *Songs of Zion*, *Pelican Island*, *Prose by a Poet*, *Voyages of Tyerman and Bennet*, and *Lectures on Poetry*. He is now about sixty-three years old, and was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1771.

- 7.—*An Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation; a work which obtained the prize on a question proposed by the National Institute of France. By C. Villers, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the French, with an Introductory Essay, by Samuel Miller, D. D., Professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Key & Biddle. 1833. pp. 183.*

CHARLES FRANCOIS DOMINIQUE DE VILLERS, was born in Belchen, Lorraine, France, in 1764. In the earlier part of his life, he served in the French army, but on the breaking out of the revolution, joined the royalist force under the prince of Condé. On the failure of the hopes of his party, he went to Lubeck, and devoted himself to literary pursuits. His reputation in the republic of letters was much increased by his obtaining the prize on the question proposed by the Institute, on the influence of the reformation. He was at length invited to fill the professor's chair of philosophy in the university of Göttingen. This situation, through French influence, he was compelled to resign, but received a pension in lieu of it. During the occupation of Hanover by the troops of France, under Davoust, the excesses committed by the soldiery induced him to address a letter to Fanny Beauharnais, with the hope of procuring through her interest, some mitigation of the evils under which the unhappy country of his adoption then labored. This letter being printed, drew on its author the personal hatred of the French commander. The honors which were denied him by his own country were accorded by the Swedish government, who made him a chevalier of the order of the polar star. He died in 1815.

The prize essay, as it might be supposed, considering the nature of the association, which proposed the prize, is written in a calm, candid, and philosophic spirit. The political and literary influence of the reformation, however, he considers to be decidedly salutary. The powers of men were expanded and developed by new political ideas. Former revolutions had only exercised men's arms; this employed their heads. Those, who embraced the reform, made a common cause with their princes for liberty; and hence arose a closer bond, a community of interest and of action, between the sovereign and his subjects. Both were forever delivered from the excessive and burthensome power of the clergy, as well as from the struggle so distressing to all Europe, and which had endured so long between the popes and emperors, to know which of them should retain the supreme power. Social order was regulated, and brought nearer to perfection. The political bodies of Europe formed a connected system of equilibrium. Some States, such as Holland, originated from this great shock. The foundations of the Prussian monarchy and of the

American republic were laid. A general spirit arose in politics and embraced all Europe. The art of negotiation was improved, and became more liberal and certain. Wars were sooner terminated, and their rigor was lightened by a more humane law of nations. In one part of Europe, the church ceased to form an extraneous State within a State; from which it was easy to foresee that this change would one day be effected through the whole of it.

The reformation must be considered as a necessary product of a new age, as a manifestation of a new spirit. What Dante and Petrarch were to poetry, Michael Angelo and Raphael to the arts of drawing, Bacon and Descartes to philosophy, Copernicus and Galileo to astronomy, Columbus and Gama to the science of the earth, such was Luther to religion. Organs of the universal mind, these eminent men expressed correctly what was lurking in a great number of their contemporaries, and at one stroke, satisfied the wants of their time. As soon as the spark flashed from their genius, the flame, ready to appear, spread in all directions.

8.—*Library of American Biography. Conducted by Jared Sparks. Contents of the first volume: Life of John Stark, by Edward Everett; Life of Charles Brockden Brown, by William H. Prescott; Life of Richard Montgomery, by John Armstrong; Life of Ethan Allen, by Jared Sparks.* Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1834. pp. 356.

THE plan of this library embraces the lives of all persons, who have been distinguished in America, from the date of its first discovery to the present time. Arrangements have been made for publishing four volumes within the compass of a year. After this trial, should there be found sufficient encouragement, the work will be continued, and a volume published quarterly. Each life will be prepared expressly for the work, except, perhaps in a very few instances, where, to give completeness to the collection, it may be deemed advisable to reprint articles of standard value, which could not be amended by writing them anew. The authors' names will in all cases be prefixed to their performances.

The present volume has all the beauty of typography and of entire execution, which would be expected from the publishers and from the Cambridge press. A likeness of general Stark, and fac similes of the handwriting of each individual are given. We are particularly pleased with the manner in which the biography of Stark is executed. The events of his life are told without effort, and with just such a selection of incidents as gives interest and clearness to the whole narrative, while at the same

time the biographer shows a perfect acquaintance with all the great events of the revolutionary period, in one part of which general Stark was so prominent an actor. Mr. Brown's memoir is that of a retired scholar, one of the few in this country, who has been by profession a literary man. In a little more than ten years, for he died in his thirty-ninth year, he published not less than four and twenty printed volumes, not to mention various pamphlets, anonymous contributions to divers periodicals, as well as more than one compilation of laborious research, which he left unfinished at his death. "His peculiar merits," says Mr. Prescott, "seem to rely on deeper sensibilities than most men possess, and tax the reasoning powers more severely than is agreeable to readers who resort to works of fiction only as an epicurean indulgence." General Montgomery's life is despatched in about forty pages, and is the least satisfactory of either, owing perhaps, to the scantiness of the materials. Ethan Allen's biography closes the volume, and occupies about one hundred and sixty pages. It is narrated, as far as we can judge, with fidelity and discrimination. It exhibits many proofs of the great obligations which the people of Vermont owe to Allen's rough but effectual vindication of their early State rights.

- 9.—*A Treatise on Roads; wherein the Principles upon which Roads should be made are Explained and Illustrated, by the Plans, Specifications, and Contracts, made use of by Thomas Telford, Esq., on the Holyhead Road. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Parnell, Bart.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman. 1833. pp. 438.

THE invention of paved roads is ascribed to the Carthaginians. The first road which the Romans made was the via Appia, the second the via Aurelia, the third the via Flaminia. In the time of Julius Cæsar, the principal cities of Italy communicated with Rome by paved roads. During the last African war, the Romans made a road with rectangular broken stones from Spain through Gaul to the Alps. Augustus conducted roads into the Alps. His plan was to extend them to the eastern and western extremities of Europe. Agrippa in Gaul ably seconded Augustus. Four great roads were made by him with a large number of branches. The Romans had columns placed from mile to mile, to mark the distance from one place to another; blocks of stone for foot travellers to rest upon, and to assist horsemen to mount their horses; and also temples, triumphal arches, mausoleums, and military stations. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, that their firmness has not entirely yielded to the effect of fifteen centuries. From the wall of Antoninus in Britain, to Jerusalem, through Rome,

there was a great chain of communication from the northwest to the southeast part of the empire, drawn out to a length of 3,740 English miles.

Among the modern nations, France is one of the most distinguished for the attention she has bestowed in forming numerous roads. Under the reign of Philip Augustus, the city of Paris began to be paved. In 1787, an "Ecole des ponts et chaussées" was established. This school is under the minister of the home department. All the principal roads of France are now committed to the management of the department of the *ponts et chaussées*. In 1830, the sum of £1,800,000 was granted by the Chambers for their support. With the exception however, of those parts of the main roads leading from Paris which are paved, the condition of the roads is evidence of the system of management being extremely imperfect. In Spain, with the exception of some few high roads, there exists scarce a wagon or cart track throughout the country. In Salamanca, wheat has been actually known to rot, because it would not repay the cost of carriage. The expenditure is about £90,000 per annum. In the most populous districts of the Russian and German dominions, the *chaussée*, or paved road, similar to that of France, is common; but over a great part of those countries the roads are but little more than formed, being almost wholly without any prepared surface. The roads in Holland are generally carried in undeviating straight lines along that flat and low country, between a double row of trees, with a ditch on each side. The Swedes have long had the character of being excellent road engineers. In the United States, the principal lines of roads are similar to the generality of English roads. Italy still preserves its celebrity for interior communication.

The first attempt in England to put the roads in order occurred when the turnpike system was introduced. In 1750, most of the goods conveyed from place to place in Scotland were carried on horseback in sacks or baskets, suspended one on each side of the horse. The common carrier from Selkirk to Edinburgh, *thirty-eight* miles distant, required a *fortnight* for his journey between the two places going and returning. It took a stage-coach a day and a half to travel from Edinburgh to Glasgow, which is now accomplished in four or five hours. In 1763, there was but one stage-coach from Edinburgh to London, and it set out only once in a month, taking from twelve to fourteen days to perform the journey. Now six or seven coaches set out every day from both cities, and perform the journey in from forty-five to forty-eight hours. After 1760, the general spirit of improvement led to that of the roads; and in the fourteen years from that period, to 1774, no less than 452 turnpike acts were passed. Turnpike roads are now extended to nearly 23,000 miles. Still, however, there are great defects existing in most of the roads.

No system for forming roads on scientific principles has been devised. Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, are much in advance of England in this particular.

The first chapter of Mr. Parnell is taken up in giving rules for tracing the lines of a new road, including surveys, mountains, hills, valleys, rivers, bogs and marsh-ground, materials, exposure, evaporation. An inclination of 1 in 35 is found by experience to be just such an inclination as admits of horses being driven in a stage-coach with perfect safety, when descending in as fast a trot as they can go. The great fault of all roads in hilly countries is, that after they ascend for a considerable height, they constantly descend again before they gain the summit of the country which they have to traverse. In the road from London to Barnet, a horse must ascend more than 1,300 feet, although Barnet is but 500 feet above London. In general, rivers have been allowed to divert the direct line of a road too readily. It is a great advantage to have a road on the north side of a valley fully exposed to the sun. All woods, high banks, high walls, and old fences ought to be avoided. Trees are particularly injurious, by not allowing the sun and wind to have free action on the surface of roads in producing evaporation. Cool air is also important for the powers of a horse. Chapter 2d is on the principles of road-making. One of the most important of these principles is that which requires a road to be made of such a degree of substance, as shall be in a due proportion to the weight and number of the carriages which are to travel over it. The external forces which diminish or destroy the momentum of carriages, are collision, friction, gravity, and air. Mr. Telford's plan of making a regular bottoming of rough, close-set pavement, is one that secures the greatest hardness that can be given to a road, and it is also attended with much less expense than in using a bottoming of broken stones. On a well made pavement, the power required to draw a wagon is 33 lbs.; on a road made with a thick coating of broken stone laid on earth, 65 lbs.; and on a road made with a thick coating of gravel laid on earth, 147 lbs.

In the 3d chapter, the rules for forming a road are given; in the 4th, the subject of drainage is treated; and in the 5th, the different kinds of road. These are iron rail-ways, paved roads, roads partly paved and partly made of broken stones, roads with a foundation of pavement and a surface of broken stones, roads with a foundation of rubble stones and a surface of broken stones or gravel, roads made with broken stones laid on the natural soil, and roads made with gravel laid on the natural soil. The average expense of making a rail-road in England is £4,000 a mile, allowing a double set of tracks. Mr. Tredgold estimates the annual repair at £557 a mile. The expense of carrying goods by locomotive engines on rail-ways, much exceeds that on canals or on rail-ways with horses.

Chapter 6th is on fences; chapter 7th on road-masonry, including bridges, retaining-walls, breast walls, fence-walls, cross-drains, inlets, outlets, depôts, toll-houses, toll gates, lamps, and mile-stones. Chapter 8th is on the management of road work, giving directions in regard to the drawings, specification in detail of executing the work, estimate of the expense, making a contract for the work, preparing a deed of contract, and appointing an inspector to lay out the work. Chapter 9th is on improving old roads; chapter 10th on repairing roads; chapter 11th on road instruments and tools; chapter 12th on road legislation. An appendix of about 120 pages, containing various documents, concludes this interesting and highly useful volume.

- 10.—*Narrative of a Journey to the Falls of the Cavery; with an Historical and Descriptive account of the Neilgherry Hills.* By Lieutenant H. Jervis, H. M. 62d regiment. Illustrated with plates. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1834. pp. 144.

THE embellishments in this volume are lithographed, and of the first order. They are on the following subjects. Fort of Soosily on the Cavery; Fall of Gungan Chuckee; Fall of Bir Chuckee; a Toda Village; View at Oatacamund; Lake at Oatacamund; Officers' Quarters at Poonamallee; Situation and Hills of Vellore; Mausoleum of Laulpett; Olsoortank, Bangalore; Officers' Burial-ground at Bangalore, and Town of Closepett. These objects are seen in visiting the noble river Cavery, and the Neilgherry hills. The advantages of these hills as a place of resort for invalids, were not apprehended till 1819. After Mr. Lushington's accession to the Madras government, the local authorities gave a uniform and zealous encouragement to the enterprise of effecting a settlement.

"A mistaken notion has prevailed with some persons," says Mr. Jervis, "that the climate of the hills does not contribute to the permanent re-establishment of health. This is a delusion, contradicted by the evidence of facts in the case of every patient who has been properly sent there. Where there is inflammation of the liver, or serious organic affections, perfect quiet in the low country, or a voyage to sea, are previously necessary. But for the recovery of lost strength, or the effectual and lasting removal of debility, from whatever cause arising, and for the continued preservation of health, there is no place in India, say all those who have any experience of the Neilgherries, that can be compared with them, and, perhaps, no part of the world, for the *whole period of the year.*" Very good accommodations for travellers are now furnished. A church was consecrated by bishop Turner on the 5th of December, 1830. The atmosphere at the foot of the hills is at 82° or 85°; it is down at 48° or 45°

at the church. The water is found to be very salubrious as well as the air. Eighty-six invalid soldiers here recovered their health during the two years preceding July, 1832. A full report on this subject is preparing by Dr. Bailey and other physicians, assisted by the papers of the late M. Jacquemont.

- 11.—*Analytical Statics. A Supplement to the Fourth Edition of an Elementary Treatise on Mechanics. By W. Whewell, M. A., F. R. S., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. Cambridge, Eng.: Pitt Press. 1833. pp. 152.*

STATICS is that part of the science of mechanics which treats of forces employed in producing equilibrium. The forces treated of in this part of mechanics are pressures. They are measured by the number of units of pressure to which they are equivalent; each unit of pressure being supposed capable of producing an equal effect in maintaining equilibrium. For the information of a portion of our readers, we give the contents of the chapters. Resolution of a force into rectangular co-ordinates; the conditions of equilibrium of a point; the conditions of equilibrium of a rigid body; the application of the integral calculus to finding the centre of gravity; the equilibrium of a flexible body; the equilibrium of an elastic body; the strength of materials. The number of propositions stated and illustrated in the volume is one hundred and one. Mr. Whewell is the well known author of one of the Bridgewater treatises.

- 12.—*The American Annual Register of Public Events, for the year 1831–32, containing a View of the History, Politics, and Literature of the year, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Persons. Brattleboro', Vt.: Fessenden & Co. 1833. pp. 688.*

MR. BLUNT of New York, author of several nautical works, is the editor and writer of the successive volumes of the Annual Register. The work bears the marks of candor, research, and an independent mind. As the repository of important documents it is of great value. About half the volume is devoted to this latter object. The main topics in the historical part are the Cherokee case; Falkland islands; northeastern boundary; cholera; nullification; public lands; United States' bank; various political events in France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Italy, Portugal, and Syria; reform in England; and local history and domestic occurrences of each of the twenty-four States of the Union. Biographical notices are given of John Trumbull, Oliver Peabody, Richard Varick, William Barton, Stephen Girard, Robert Troup, Robert Campbell, George Crabbe, Champollion, Perier, Nathaniel Rochester, James Mackintosh, Thomas Sump-



ter, and Samuel Ward. Mr. Blunt's political views are generally anti-administration, yet in exhibiting them he manifests a commendable degree of impartiality. Though a decided friend to the national bank, he states several instances in which it has been guilty of bad management. The principal defect in the volume, in our opinion, is the disproportionate attention which is given to politics and commerce. Why not devote a few pages in a large volume like this, to the history of literary enterprises and of religious institutions? We cannot find one word in regard to the progress of the temperance reform—a reform, which is destined to exert a deeper and more permanent influence upon the commerce, banking, public land system, and general prosperity of this country, than any one of the questions to which Mr. Blunt has devoted his pages. What is the *cause* of this manifest deficiency? The time is fast coming, we believe, when an historian will be compelled to be more of a political economist than will be consistent with a neglect of this subject.

- 13.—*The Constitutional Class Book; being a brief Exposition of the Constitution of the United States. Designed for the use of the Higher Classes in Common Schools. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University.* Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1834. pp. 166.

"THE plan of this book," remarks judge Story, "is the same which I have adopted in my larger commentaries. But it became indispensable to write nearly all the work anew, so much was required to give simplicity, and clearness, and brevity to the explanations, that they might meet the minds of those who cannot be presumed to possess much, if any, political knowledge." The design of this volume is excellent, and the execution such as would be expected from the learned and eminent author. All the principal topics of constitutional law are taken up and explained with clearness and sound argument. Of the great importance of the diffusion of such knowledge as is contained in this volume, there can be no question.

- 14.—*England and the English. By Edward Lytton Bulwer, M. P., Author of Pelham, Devereux, Eugene Aram, &c. In two volumes.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1833. pp. 243, 220.

ONE of the most interesting questions connected with our periodical literature, is the expediency of giving or withholding the names of contributors. The general opinion seems to be adverse to the measure both in this country and in England. If we except the journals which are exclusively scientific, we do not

know of a single respectable periodical in Great Britain, which publishes the names of correspondents. In this country, the same remark holds good, with two or three recent exceptions.\* The reasons, which we have heard alleged in favor of the usual or anonymous method, are in substance the following.

1. It preserves the *unity* of a periodical. The work speaks as one being and utters a consentaneous voice. It is not this or that individual, who gives his opinion, but the whole embodied review. In this way the ably written articles assist their weaker associates. An article is not of course judged by its intrinsic merits alone, but by the general character of the publication. Besides, it furnishes scope for the imagination of the reader. It is no common man, he may say, who wrote this or that article, but a Coryphaeus, a distinguished master of the subject. 2. It furnishes opportunities for young writers to acquire confidence. A failure, with the name published before the community, might depress, if not forever impede the intellectual progress of the young writer. 3. Public men or books can be reviewed with more freedom and truth. It is sometimes necessary to speak of a book or of a man in public life, with great severity. An anonymous review furnishes a good shield under which to make the assault. It might fail of a part of its beneficial effect, if the authorship should be associated with the rivalries, prejudices, or unpleasant associations of any sort which may attach to a particular name.

These arguments, though entitled to considerable weight, are in our opinion, greatly counterbalanced by what may be advanced on the other hand.

1. It is impossible to preserve an entire unity of opinion on any subject of politics, or literature, or morals. Hence, in order to preserve this ideal unity, a particular set of writers must be employed, who are leagued to some system or party. And even in such a case, the editor must make a liberal use of his shears, and cut off every straggling sentence or heterodox paragraph—a palpable injustice to a writer. This sacrifice to unity is followed with a real loss of patronage on the part of the publication. The writer, whose pride is mortified, retires in disgust. 2. Anonymous reviews are a defence to calumny, falsehood, misstatement, and all other hateful things. With all which is deep in research, and splendid in diction, and caustic in the assault upon vice or bad taste in the Edinburgh or London Quarterly, how much has there been in both which every liberal minded man must deplore? What distortions of facts, what violent political partisanship, what rancorous hate, what national antipathies, what unfeeling criticism, what under currents of infidel sentiment, have those reviews been obnoxious to? Not

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\* *Biblical Repository, Unitarian, Lit. and Theol. Review.*

a little of the interest which has been concentrated in them has resulted from the vigor with which the combatants have handled their two-edged swords in the dark. We are pleased with strong excitement, and do not always wait to ascertain whether it comes from legitimate causes. Many of these writers hate the light, and do not come to it lest their deeds should be reproved. If a man wishes to utter a prejudice, or untruth, or a shallow opinion, let his own head have the credit of it, and not another man, or the impersonal unembodied being of a review. If a writer has regard to his reputation, he will be careful as to his facts, sparing as to his prejudices, and rigid as to his logic. In all ordinary circumstances, we believe, that the giving of the name will afford the most powerful stimulus to write well and worthily. In the one case, reputation and property, may be in some measure at issue; in the anonymous review, a failure will work no harm, as the name of a writer of a feeble article, not being published, will not be likely to excite sufficient curiosity to be worthy of an inquiry. 3. The real capabilities of a review will be better known in this way. In the anonymous review, a half dozen men may do the great amount of the writing. In the other case, it will be impracticable. A wide co-operation will be indispensable. A single set of writers, confined to one denomination, or party, or corner of the country, will not suffice. A necessity will be laid upon the conductors to show not only the extent of their field, but the number and nerve of their laborers.

Some interesting remarks will be found on this subject, so far as Britain is concerned in the second volume of Bulwer's *England and the English*. They are written in a severe and caustic strain, but they are richly merited.

15.—*Principles of General Grammar, adapted to the Capacity of Youth, and proper to serve as an Introduction to the Study of Languages.* By A. J. Sylvestre De Sacy, Member of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, &c. Translated by D. Fosdick, Jr., Theol. Sem., Andover. Andover: Flagg, Gould, & Newman. 1834. pp. 156.

ONE of the greatest difficulties with many pupils in learning languages is a misapprehension of the intention of a grammar. They as soberly believe in its syntax as they would in a moral law. The whole process is merely mechanical. Their minds quietly acquiesce in the wisdom of the grammarian, as far as his canons, or exceptions, or observations go, and then they are out on a shoreless ocean. Their error lies in supposing that the grammar was made before the language, instead of being a statement of the general usage of the best writers in the language. They need to be compelled to examine into the principles of universal grammar, to gain a clear idea of the object of gram-

mars and lexicons, and gradually to be able to make rules for themselves.

We think Mr. Fosdick has done a good service to scholars, young and old, by his translation. All the parts of a grammar are gone over, and their relations and connections, if we may so say, are philosophically accounted for. We forewarn the reader that it will be a dry and tasteless book, unless he has some enthusiasm in his pursuit. To one, who intends to be a linguist or a scholar, it will not be lost labor to give the book a thorough perusal.

- 16.—*Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights of Mankind.* By Jonathan Dymond. With a Preface by the Rev. George Bush. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1834. pp. 432.

It will be of course impracticable for us to give any thing like a full account of this volume in a brief notice. Our only object is to call the attention of our readers to it. Mr. Dymond was the son of a Quaker, and kept a linen draper's shop in Exeter, England. He wrote a great part of his works in a little room adjoining his shop, subject to frequent interruptions from his customers. He died of the pulmonary consumption, May 5, 1828.

In the first essay, Mr. Dymond investigates the principles of morality, including the ultimate standard of right and wrong, and those subordinate rules, which direct us in the common affairs of life. In the second essay these principles are applied in the determination of various questions of personal and relative duty. In the third essay, some of the great questions of political law are examined.

A portion of the subjects discussed in the volume are of great immediate importance—such as Intellectual Education, Suicide, the Nature of Civil Liberty, Forms of Government, Capital Punishment, Legal Provision for Christian Teachers, Religious Establishments, and Slavery. The writer has entered into this important department of science and of moral truth, with a bold and uncompromising Christian spirit. He keeps no quarters with Paley, or other like temporizers. The volume will command, and deservedly, a wide circulation. We shall take an early opportunity to canvass its claims.

**LITERARY**  
**AND**  
**PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE.**

*Proceedings of Learned Societies.*

*Royal Society of London*, incorporated in 1662, meets on Thursday, at half past eight, P. M. Anniversary, 30th of November. Duke of Sussex, President. Peter Mark Roger, M. D., Secretary. Seven hundred and fifty members. At recent meetings medals were conferred on Dr. Dalton, Ivory, Prof. Struve, Encke, Sir Charles Bell, Prof. Michterlicht, Dr. Brewster, De Candolle of Geneva, Sir J. W. Herschell. The last named person read an interesting paper on nebulae and double stars. He enumerated the difficulties which lie in the way of an accurate classification of them, such as their faintness; irregular distribution; impossibility of viewing them but three months in the year, and then only in the absence of the moon. His catalogue contains 2,500 nebulous stars, 2,000 of which were enumerated by his father, Sir William Herschell, and 500 by himself. The unity of their design, among other circumstances, shows, as he thought, that they form a definite system. Dr. Brewster read a paper on the crystalline lenses of animals, particularly of the cod. The fibres of the lens are united by a series of teeth, like rack-work. The number of teeth in the fibre of a cod are 12,500; number of fibres in a lens, 5,000,000—consequently, the number of teeth is 62,500,000,000. Mr. Barlow stated that he had commenced the task of collecting and arranging all the authentic information which he could find in recent books of travels concerning magnetic variation. Professor Michael Faraday stated the following as the results in his fourth series of experiments in electricity. 1. All bodies are conductors of electricity in the same manner, but in different degrees. 2. In some bodies, the conducting power is powerfully increased by heat, in others diminished. 3. A number of elastic bodies, when solid, insulate electricity; when fluid, conduct it freely, and are decomposed by it. 4. Fluidity is not essential to decomposition.

*Asiatic Society*, incorporated 1820, meets on Saturday. Anniversary, 14th of March. At the meeting on the 14th of December, 1833, Sir Alexander Johnstone in the chair, Prof. Wilson presented his Sanscrit Dictionary, and Sir G. C. Haughton his Bengalee and Sanscrit Dictionary. Of the Asiatic Researches of Calcutta, seven volumes were presented. Of the Antiquities of Egypt, brought out under the care of Prof. Rossellini, at the expense of the duke of Tuscany, two volumes of works were presented and five of plates. William Henry Sykes, Thomas Newnham, and S. Cartwright, were elected resident members. A paper was read on the law of adultery in Nepal by Brian H. Hodgson.

*Asiatic Society of Calcutta.* At their meeting on the 29th of May last, lieutenant A. Burnes read a paper on the "Topes and Grecian Remains in the Punjab." He examined several of the topes, which he supposes were the tombs of the ancient kings.

*Geological Society of London.* Seven hundred members. Formed in 1826. Meetings, first and third Fridays of the month. On the 20th of November, a notice of the geology of the north coast of the river and gulf of St. Lawrence was communicated by Capt. Brayfield. He has examined the coast from lon. 60 deg. to 69 deg. 16 min. about 500 miles. The formation is granitic, syenitic, limestone, a deposit of clay, and modern alluvial combination. The relative level of land and water is changing, produced by successive elevations of land.

*Royal Geographical Society.* Five hundred and twenty members. At a late meeting of this society, a premium was given to Capt. Ross, and a high eulogium pronounced on his character and on that of his nephew Capt. John Ross. So entirely were the hopes of the return of the former abandoned, that his relatives had proceeded to open his will. Lieutenant Burnes read before the society a statement of his journey in Central Asia. He travelled along the banks of the Indus to the Himalaya, Delhi, Lahore, Punjab, Peshawar, Caubul, Hindoo Coosh, or the Indian Caucasus, Balkh, along the valley of the Oxus, Sarmacand, Bokhara, Toorkamauns, desert of Khorasan, Mushiell to the Caspian at Astrabad, Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Bushire on the Persian gulf, Bombay. He was accompanied by Dr. Gerhard, of whom he speaks in high terms. He was liberally encouraged by lord William Bentinck, and Sir John Malcolm. The kindness of the vizier of Bokhara towards him was remarkable. Among other things, he appointed a guard for the travellers through his dominions. When they left him he wished them to pray for him as he was very old, and to send to him a pair of spectacles that he might be better able to read the Koran. They found many Greek and Bactrian coins, having taken the identical route of Alexander. Lieut. Burnes will soon publish his journal in detail.

*Royal Society of Literature*, incorporated 1825, meets every Wednesday. Anniversary, 30th of April. Members, two hundred and seventy-one. At the meeting Nov. 6th, it was stated that Mr. Wilkinson, who has lately returned from Egypt, had examined the celebrated statue of Memnon, reported to have uttered sounds like that of a harp when it was touched by the rays of the sun. Mr. Wilkinson found within it a sonorous stone, and by it a concealed niche in which a man had been accustomed to stand with an iron rod, with which he had struck the stone. The statue was broken by Cambyses, but afterwards repaired. The secret was, however, kept.

*French Academy of Sciences*, founded in 1666 by Colbert, and received the royal ratification in 1699. Since 1699, it has, with a few exceptions, published, annually, a volume of Transactions, now constituting a series of between 130 and 140 volumes. We have gathered from the *Revue Encyclopedique* the following brief notice of its proceedings during the months of July and August last. A paper was communicated on a branch of analytical mathematics by M. Guillaume Libri. M. d' Avezac communicated some

strictures on the equation of time adopted by Mungo Park in his African travels. M. Puissant communicated a new comparison of geodesical and astronomical measures of France, and the consequent results in relation to the figure of the earth. A report of M. M. Molard, Bequerel, and Seguiet, respecting a model of a vapor machine was presented. Also an account of experiments on compressibility by M. Œersted; description of a new species of vibration in sound, by Cagniard Latour; on the polarization of light, by M. Arago; on the formation of sulphurate of lead, by M. Bequerel; on organic chemistry, by M. Dumas; on the essential oil of black mustard, by M. Dumas and M. Pelouze; on sour milk, by M. Thénard; on vegetable products connected with guins, by M. Bouchardat and the duke of Leoynes; considerations on the interior geology of the globe, by M. Longchamp; remarks respecting a scientific voyage to Italy, Malta, and Sicily, by M. Constant Prevost; on the Lacedemonian marble, by M. Boblage; on the application of circular polarization to the analysis of grasses; on the perfection of the plough, by M. Molard; on the bones, fossils, &c., found in the basins of Auvergne, by Geoffroy Saint Hilaire; on the abdominal glands, by St. Hilaire; statistical researches respecting the stone, by Dr. Civiale; on public hygiene, by M. M. Girard, Freycinet, and Double; and on the identity of the hieroglyphic language of Egypt with the Sanscrit.\*

#### Books and Literary Undertakings.

Professor Frederick A. Rauch, of York, Pa., has issued a specimen number of a Library of German Literature. It is a pamphlet of forty-eight royal octavo pages, and contains about one third of Goethe's Travels in Italy. Fifty-two numbers, divided into four volumes, will be furnished to subscribers, at five dollars payable in advance. It will embrace works in nearly every department of literature that partake of a popular character, and are calculated to interest the general reader.—Rev. J. N. Hoffman, of Baltimore, has in press a translation from the German of Arndt's True Christianity.—Hug's Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, translated by D. Fosdick, Jr., with notes by Prof. Stuart, will soon be published.—A new edition of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, with large additions by Prof. Da Ponte, of the New York University, is in press.—Prof. Bush is preparing the "Key of David," a critical commentary on the Psalms, comprising the Hebrew text and a new Version, to be published in periodical numbers. Mr. Bush is also preparing a new Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon.—Prof. Stuart is preparing a Grammar of the New Testament Idiom, to contain not only the appropriate syntax, but an exhibition of all the declensions, conjugations, &c., of the common dialects of Greece, which are usually contained in Greek Grammars.—Carey & Hart will issue a new annual for 1835, to be called "The Gift." The engravings are now in the hands of eminent artists.—Harper & Brothers are publishing Mrs.

\* It is our intention to give hereafter a more full account of the meetings and transactions of the most important learned societies throughout the world, particularly German, French, English, and American. We have access to the most valuable European scientific journals and philosophical transactions.

Sherwood's Complete Works, in a uniform style with those of Miss Edgeworth.—Prof. Woolsey, of Yale college, has issued the first number of a series of the Greek dramatic writers, containing the *Alcestis* of Euripides with notes. It is printed at the university press, at Cambridge.—The third and fourth volumes of Prof. Henry Ware's Sunday Library, will contain the *Holy Land and its inhabitants*, by Rev. S. G. Bulfinch, and selections from the writings of Dr. Priestley, by Mr. Ware.—A new History of the United States is preparing by Mr. Geo. Bancroft, late of Northampton. The first volume is about to be published by Hilliard, Gray, & Co.—A new History of Massachusetts is in preparation, by a gentleman who has been distinguished for his research and accuracy.—The Messrs. Abbotts are preparing a series of popular and practical religious works. Vol. I. will be entitled "*Fireside Piety*." Vol. II., "*The Mother's Friend*." About 20,000 copies of Mr. Abbott's *Young Christian* have been sold in England. An edition of the *Teacher* has been brought out, with a preface by the Rev. Dr. Mayo, of Oxford. The *Little Philosopher*, and the *Mother at Home*, are also widely extending in that country.—Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, has published a number of sermons on Christian ethics.—Mr. Montgomery Martin is bringing out a very extensive work on the colonies of the British empire. It is to be comprised in five volumes, of which one is already published, containing a view of Singapore, New South Wales, &c.—A complete edition of the poetical works of Crabbe, is publishing by John Murray, under the charge of a son of the poet. The merits of this writer have probably never been appreciated either in England or this country.—Rev. Hugh Pearson, the biographer of Dr Buchanan, has lately published a *New Life of Schwartz*, with a history of the introduction and progress of Christianity in India, previously to the labors of Schwartz.—The late report of Victor Cousin respecting the school-system of Prussia, has been translated into English.—Complete editions of the Works of Hannah More, with a biography, are soon expected.—The Westminster Review, which, according to Bulwer, is the most original of the British Reviews, is to be published at a price considerably reduced.

#### **Literary Institutions.**

President Peers, of the Transylvania university, Kentucky, has been removed from his office, on account of a difference of opinion between him and the trustees.—The legislature of Maine have quietly acquiesced in the decision of justice Story, in reference to Bowdoin college. They have, however, voted to discontinue after the present year, the appropriation to the medical school, connected with the institution.—The theological school, at East Windsor, Conn., will be opened on the first of May next. Rev. Bennet Tyler, D. D., is president, and professor of theology; Rev. J. Cogswell, professor of ecclesiastical history; Rev. A. Nettleton, of pastoral theology; and the Rev. W. Thompson, of biblical literature. The two last, have not yet signified their acceptance.—Rev. Rufus Babcock, Jr., has entered on his duties as president of Waterville college, Me.—Mr. Daniel Treadwell has been appointed Rumford professor of natural history in Harvard college.—Rev. J. W. Alexander, late editor of the Presbyterian, has



been chosen professor of rhetoric in the college of New Jersey.—Lord Wellington has been appointed chancellor of the University of Oxford.—Rev. Robert Vaughan, author of *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, &c., has entered on his duties as professor of history, in the University of London.—The new University in Durham, in the North of England, is now in operation.—Three new professorships are about to be established in Bombay, to be called the Elphinstone Professorships, in honor of the Hon. M. Elphinstone, former governor of Bombay.

### Miscellaneous.

*Obituary Tables.* From the last number of the *Revue Encyclopedique*, we have translated the following tables.

| Country.           | Time.   | Mean<br>No. of Deaths Ann. | Deaths in<br>Comparison<br>to Population. | Mortality to<br>each Million<br>of the Pop. |
|--------------------|---------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Sweden and Norway, | 1821—5  | 79,000                     | 1—47                                      | 21,300                                      |
| Denmark,           | 1819    | 33,800                     | 1—45                                      | 22,400                                      |
| Russia in Europe,  | 1826    | 960,000                    | 1—44                                      | 22,700                                      |
| Low Countries,     | 1827—8  | 163,000                    | 1—38                                      | 26,500                                      |
| Britain,           | 1818—21 | 373,000                    | 1—55                                      | 18,200                                      |
| Poland,            | 1829    | 93,000                     | 1—44                                      | 22,700                                      |
| Germany Proper,    | 1825—8  | 290,000                    | 1—45                                      | 22,400                                      |
| Prussia,           | 1821—6  | 303,500                    | 1—39                                      | 25,600                                      |
| Austria,           | 1828    | 675,000                    | 1—40                                      | 25,000                                      |
| France,            | 1825—7  | 308,200                    | 1—39                                      | 25,000                                      |
| Switzerland,       | 1827—8  | 50,000                     | 1—40                                      | 25,000                                      |
| Portugal,          | 1815—19 | 92,000                     | 1—40                                      | 25,000                                      |
| Spain,             | 1810—28 | 307,000                    | 1—40                                      | 25,000                                      |
| Italy,             | 1822—8  | 660,000                    | 1—30                                      | 33,300                                      |
| Greece,            | 1828    | 33,000                     | 1—30                                      | 33,300                                      |
| Turkey,            | 1828    | 334,800                    | 1—30                                      | 33,300                                      |
| Northern Europe,   |         | 2,972,100                  | 1—44                                      | 22,700                                      |
| Southern Europe,   |         | 2,284,200                  | 1—36                                      | 27,800                                      |
| All Europe,        |         | 5,256,300                  | 1—40                                      | 25,000                                      |

The following estimates will show a gratifying progress in the health and life of men.

| Cities.     | Time. | Deaths in<br>Comparison<br>to Inhabitants. | Time.   | Deaths in<br>Comparison<br>to Inhabitants. |
|-------------|-------|--------------------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------|
| Paris,      | 1650  | 1—25                                       | 1829—31 | 1—32                                       |
| London,     | 1690  | 1—24                                       | 1828    | 1—55                                       |
| Berlin,     | 1755  | 1—28                                       | 1827    | 1—34                                       |
| Geneva,     | 1560  | 1—18                                       | 1821    | 1—43                                       |
| Rome,       | 1762  | 1—21                                       | 1828    | 1—34                                       |
| Amsterdam,  | 1761  | 1—25                                       | 1828    | 1—28                                       |
| Petersburg, | 1768  | 1—28                                       | 1828    | 1—48                                       |

*Algiers.* A direct communication is about to be opened between France and Algiers. Steam-vessels are to be employed.

## VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

## Congress, General Condition of the Country.

THE great and almost the only topic of discussion in congress and throughout the country, for the last three months, has been the removal of the deposits and the deranged condition of the currency. The deceptive nature of earthly expectations, especially in the commercial community, has not been so impressively exhibited for fifteen or twenty years. Many individuals have been suddenly thrown from a full tide of prosperous business to the depths of pecuniary distress. The extreme suddenness of the change, is one of the most afflicting circumstances. Merchants, manufacturers, and others, six months since made large investments in stock, and calculated upon a great increase of profitable employment. Heavy engagements are now to be met, when the greater part of the circulating medium is withdrawn from the market. The removal of the deposits, amounting to eight or nine millions, their distribution among a large number of state banks, the consequent necessity on the part of the bank of the United States to contract its discounts, and gradually to prepare for the expiration of its charter, which takes place in 1836—all have conspired to produce a state of things most disastrous in its effects on the great interests of the country. The prospect now is, of a general stagnation of business through the present year, as relief, should it fully and speedily come, would not repair the losses sustained in consequence of the interruption of business at that part of the year when plans are devised, and enterprises commenced. The cause of the evils, according to the opinion of some individuals, is *overtrading*, or such an eagerness to amass wealth, as would in ordinary circumstances have brought men to the brink of ruin. It is doubtless true, that many persons have extended their business entirely beyond the bounds of prudence, and such are now the first to feel the effects of the pressure. The time of both branches of congress for four months has been almost exclusively occupied with this subject. A great number of petitions, mostly adverse to the removal of the deposits, and from men of all professions and parties, as private individuals, and as legislative and public bodies, have been presented to the consideration of congress. Mr. Webster, chairman of the committee of finance in the senate, has given a report, in which the alleged reasons for the removal of the deposits, are calmly and logically overturned. In

the house of representatives, Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, chairman of the committee of ways and means, has presented a very long report in justification of the measures of the president. Mr. Webster has given notice that he shall bring forward a bill to extend the charter of the bank of the United States for a short time. What will be the issue of these extraordinary proceedings it is utterly impossible to predict. The singular spectacle is seen of the presiding officer of a country waging a war of extermination upon a great monied institution, created by the government, and whose term of existence is very brief. The Christian patriot may learn useful lessons from these events—both to guide his conduct in regard to his business-affairs, and the welfare of his country, and to teach him the importance of obtaining an *enduring* substance.

#### Temperance.

The past quarter has been fraught with events of great interest in relation to this subject. The signs of the times proclaim the near approach of a day of perfect triumph to the principles of temperance. A legislative temperance society has been formed in Kentucky, the constitution of which inhibits the use of *wine*. A large similar association has been formed in Kentucky, with the governor of the State at its head. Conventions of the friends of temperance have been held in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, both of great interest. In the Pennsylvania convention, the consideration of a resolution declaring the use of, and traffic in ardent spirits to be an immorality, was postponed till next year. In the New Jersey convention, the *same* resolution was opposed with great perseverance and skill, but was carried by a large majority. The congressional temperance society, at its annual meeting, were favored with the presence of chief justice Marshall, and many other distinguished men. The attorney general of the United States made a long and able speech. In the city of New York, a convention has been held of delegates from various cities, chief justice Hornblower, of New Jersey, in the chair. Mr. Chipman, of Rochester, stated that it had been ascertained by a personal examination of the jails, alms-houses, &c., of 50 counties, out of the 55 in the State of New York, that nine tenths of all the criminals, and six tenths of all the paupers in the State were made criminals and paupers by intemperance. Of 153 persons in Columbia county, committed to prison in one year, 124 were intemperate, and twelve were committed *for whipping their wives!* The convention unanimously recommended that if licenses are given at all for the sale of ardent spirits, that they cease to be reckoned a source of public revenue, and in all cases be granted *gratuitously*, that the

semblance of an apology for their multiplication because of the revenue which they yield, may be taken away. They also earnestly recommended that an effort be made in every city to obtain the passage of a law, making it a misdemeanor for any person holding a license for the sale of ardent spirits, either to sell, or expose for sale, *any other article of merchandize, on the premises occupied under such license.* This would effectually separate the business of vending ardent spirits from that of family groceries, and thus prevent the multiplied mischiefs which result from the sale of ardent spirits, and of the necessaries of life, in the same shops. In Boston, in about three months, 9,000 signatures have been obtained to the pledge of total abstinence—all the signers are over the age of twelve years. The number of temperance groceries is considerably increased. The friends of temperance in the legislature of Massachusetts, have attempted in vain to procure the passage of a law, giving to each town the final disposition of the granting or withholding of licenses, and making them in no case a source of revenue. The measure was defeated by a majority of about fifteen votes. A part of the opponents thought that the effects of the law might be injurious on the interests of temperance, but probably a considerable number are in some way connected with the traffic in ardent spirits. There are partnerships, connections, lands, and tenements, which in particular persons bias the mind and blunt the sensibilities.

#### Lotteries.

An act has been passed by the legislature of Virginia for the abolition of lotteries in that State. By the provisions of the act, no new lotteries are to be granted, and the sale of lottery tickets is to be wholly dispensed with, after January 1st, 1840. The States of Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and we believe Maine, New Hampshire, and Maryland, have adopted incipient, if not final measures, for the total abolition of the system.

#### Colored Population.

A society was formed in Kentucky, in December last, for the purpose of ridding the State of slavery. According to the original proposal, the society was to be organized whenever *fifty* slave-holders should signify their desire to become members of it. That number was obtained more than a year ago. Every member pledges himself to emancipate all slaves born his property, on their reaching the age of twenty-five years, and if females, their offspring with them. This is the only pledge. It is connected with no religious denomination, nor political party. A strong and nearly successful effort has been

made in the legislature of Kentucky to pass a law, calling a convention of the people for the purpose of amending the constitution of the State, so that a definite time may be fixed, after which slavery shall cease. Slavery is found to impede improvement in civilization and science. In Louisiana, \$380,000 have been expended in the promotion of primary education, but according to governor Romain, only 380 indigent youth have been educated. Ohio is now, nearly twice as large as Kentucky in free population; and in Kentucky the ratio of the white increase is diminishing, owing to the emigration of the white population to the free States. In Tennessee, preparatory measures have been adopted on the same subject.

Some interesting disclosures have lately been made in regard to the American Colonization Society. Owing to various causes—such as the large influx of emigrants into the colony for two or three years' past, the failure of the rice crops last year at the colony, and the high price of provisions occasioned thereby, and also the scarcity at the Cape de Verdes, the sickness of some of the emigrants, the pressure of duties on governor Mechlin, and particularly a wrong and irresponsible organization of the Board at Washington, have produced great embarrassment in the financial matters of the society, causing a debt of \$ 40,000 or \$ 50,000. Very full and satisfactory discussions have taken place, both in meetings of the society and of the managers. The managers have just published an exposition of the principles by which they intend to be governed. It is now their deliberate decision to send no emigrants to the colony until such of them as are of suitable age are formed into temperance societies. A careful inquiry will be instituted into the moral character and industrious habits of each adult emigrant. All measures for the promotion of a complete system of education in the colony will claim from the board their constant and unremitting attention. They are also adopting vigorous measures for the promotion of agriculture. In short, it will be their untiring effort to render Liberia a desirable and happy home for the emigrant. So soon, as it becomes so, the free colored man, it is supposed, will, in most cases, go there of his own accord. To liquidate the debts of the institution, the Board propose the creation of a stock of \$ 50,000, bearing an interest of 6 per cent annually. For the payment of the interest annually, and the gradual payment of the principal, it is proposed to establish a sinking fund of \$ 6,000 per annum. Should the stock be taken up, the funds of the board would at once be relieved, and the payment of the whole stock, with its interest, would in less than twelve years, be redeemed by the annual payment of \$ 6,000. A new governor, professor Kinsley of West Point, eminently qualified for his station, has been appointed.

The accountability of the board to the public has been secured, by giving their election to the delegates from the auxiliary societies, and the life members of the society, and requiring a full statement to the annual meeting of all their operations and proceedings. The number of members of the board of managers has been reduced, and its efficiency increased by the election of several new and well-qualified members.

#### Miscellaneous.

The trigonometrical survey of the State of Massachusetts, by colonel Stevens, will be completed during the present year, also the astronomical portion of it by R. T. Paine.—Some interesting conclusions may be drawn concerning the state of morals in New England from the following facts, furnished in the report of the attorney general of Massachusetts. No person in that State, during the last year, was capitally punished. Only one was sentenced to the state prison for life. The larger number of criminals have been subjected to confinement in the county jails or houses of correction. It is probably a just conclusion, that, with the increase of population, there has been an actual but not a proportional increase of criminal prosecutions.—The number of persons apprehended by the police of the city of London, in 1832, was 72,824. Supposing the population of London to be twenty times that of Boston, the same proportion would give for Boston 3,641, instead of the actual number 1,904: The lottery and license laws have furnished occasion for an unusual number of prosecutions, because a more enlightened public sentiment has shown an increasing determination to enforce the penalties. Of the 119 persons committed to the Massachusetts' state prison last year, 34 were foreigners; 16 of them Irishmen. Of the crimes for which they were committed, larceny comprises 83, and assault under various forms but 12.—A bill has passed the legislature of Pennsylvania, providing for the establishment of a general system of education by common schools. It appropriates \$25,000 for 1834; \$50,000 for 1835; and \$75,000 for 1836. Each school district is obliged to raise by tax double the sum, before it can draw its proportion from the State. If it refuses to raise such sum, then its proportion of the public money is to be divided among those districts which do comply with the law. A law for a similar purpose is in progress through the legislature of Massachusetts, establishing a school fund in that State, and requiring returns from all the towns concerning the condition of the schools, before the system actually goes into operation.—A law has been passed in North Carolina, which virtually extends the authority of the State over that portion of the Cherokee lands, which were included within the chartered limits of North Carolina.

## West Indies.

The British ministerial plan for the abolition of slavery is received much more quietly in the colonies than was expected. In the Bermudas, slavery is to be immediately abolished, without any regard to the apprenticeship. The assembly of Antigua have written a long letter to the governor, containing many important suggestions. On the 25th of November, the assembly of the island of Jamaica appointed, by a vote of 21 to 14, a committee of 24 persons to devise the best methods to carry the government plan into effect. It was submitted to reluctantly, but it was considered to be entirely in vain to resist the will of the mother country. The governor in his speech at the close of the session stated that all was quiet in the island. The apprentice-plan is to be here adopted. Barbadoes was waiting to see what course was to be adopted in Jamaica. Both Barbadoes and St. Vincent are ready to act in accordance to the emancipation bill. It seems that the French islands are following up the requisitions of the royal ordinance of the 12th of July, 1832. In Martinique, 1,373 patronés have been emancipated, and 423 slaves; in Guadeloupe, 904 patronés and 375 slaves; in Guiana, 84 patronés and 28 slaves—all by the masters. There have also been liberated by decrees at Martinique, 5,597; at Guadeloupe, 1,798; in Guiana, 371;—in all, 11,053.

## Great Britain.

Several questions of great importance will probably come before parliament during their present session. Among these are the Corn Laws, Corporations, System of Education, Pauper System, and Church Reform. The object of *corn laws* is to supply the want of food. To secure this object in England at one period, laws were passed prohibiting the exportation of corn. At another period, and for a very long one, a bounty was given on the importation. Such a bounty tends to stimulate a surplus production, and so to give a country by this factitious encouragement, the same security in respect to a supply as results from the spontaneous course of industry and trade in highly agricultural countries as Poland, the southern part of Russia, and the United States. But the objection to the bounty is its great expense, requiring, as it does, the imposition of a tax, and, at the same time, raising the price of the article to the domestic consumer. To secure the advantages and avoid some of the burdens of this law, Mr. Burke, in 1773, proposed the system of corn laws since adhered to in Great Britain, according to which no bounty is paid, but the exportation of corn is permitted when it is sold *under* a certain price in the home market. This price is determined by the average sales

in certain specified places for a given time ; and when it rises above a certain other fixed price, the importation is permitted. The home grower is, therefore, sure to be free from foreign competition at any price under a given sum, for instance 48 shillings on a quarter of wheat ; and this gives him confidence in pursuing this species of cultivation. It is supposed by Mr. Malthus and others, who are in general opposed to restrictions, that the ports of Great Britain could not with safety be opened to a perfectly free trade, since wars or other interruptions of trade might produce great distress. Another powerful party are in favor of a total repeal. The election of members to the reformed parliament turned in some measure on this question. Mr. P. Thomson's election at Manchester, in opposition to Cobbett, showed the anxiety of the manufacturing towns for free trade, of which Mr. T. is the official representative. In almost every place the opponents of free trade were rejected. At Leeds, Mr. Sadler, the political economist, was obliged to yield to Mr. Marshall and Mr. Macauley. Even in the agricultural districts, a corn monopoly is ceasing to be a popular demand, the farmers beginning to see that they are not to be benefited by it.

On the subject of *Church Reform*, there are, with many minor differences, three great parties. The first including the archbishop of Canterbury, most of the bishops, the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, the London Quarterly, Blackwood, the British Critic, and other influential individuals and bodies of men, are opposed to all reform. Some of them admit that slight changes would be advisable, would they not open the door to revolution and the subversion of the establishment. The archbishop of Canterbury upholds pluralities on the ground among other things, that they promote the cause of sacred learning. Another class are the radicals and a considerable number of the dissenting body, who wish for the entire dissolution of the establishment as the religion of the state. The one party from their hatred to all religion, the other from deep rooted hostility to establishments, conceiving them to be anti-scriptural and wrong in principle, as well as inexpedient and unjust in their operation. A very large intermediate body, though with many differences of opinion, including the moderate dissenters and the evangelical party in the establishment, are in favor of a qualified reform. With this party it is supposed that the views and plans of the ministry mainly coincide. Earl Grey, in a recent interview with a delegation from Nottingham, intimated that the ministers were totally opposed to a subversion of the union of the church with the British government. Lord Henley, a pious member of the established church, whose plan of church reform has perhaps been most exten-



sively known, considers the non-residence of the beneficed clergy as the greatest evil in the present system ; it appearing by the last parliamentary returns, that out of 10,533 livings in England and Wales, there are only 4,413 residents. More than 4,000 livings are insufficient to maintain a minister. More than 4,800 have no fit residence for one. Church room is also greatly wanted in various parts of the kingdom, while £300,000 per annum are almost entirely devoted to sinecures ; the ostensible purpose being to keep up divine service in about thirty cathedral and collegiate churches. The chief object of his plan is to make cathedral property assist parochial necessities. He thinks that in reference to orthodox protestant dissenters, there "ought to be some healing measures." He would also abolish pluralities, non-residence, and episcopal translations, adjust the episcopal revenues, and erect some new sees. The plan of the *Christian Observer* is to provide for the specific professional and religious education of candidates for the holy office ; to diminish the temptations for the assuming of the sacred functions merely as a temporal provision and an easy profession ; it considers that it is indispensable to the purity and spiritual efficiency of the church to abolish the holding of two benefices by one person ; that every clergyman be obliged to reside on his benefice ; that large parishes should be subdivided into convenient pastoral districts ; that adequate facilities should be given for the opening of new churches and chapels ; that there may be a speedy commutation of tithes for land, corn rent, or other sources of equally permanent income ; a better distribution of the labors and resources of bishops ; considerable modifications in the laws and usages of ecclesiastical patronage ; that the crown and episcopal patronage, should be given under due regulations, to the whole body of the clergy ; that there should be a more effectual supervision of the clergy ; and that the ordinances of the national religion may be extended to all the dominions of Britain. Some things in the liturgy and church service, it is generally agreed, require amendment and modification. The dissenters are also deprived of many rights and subjected to many hardships, in relation to burials, marriages, registration of births, and payment of tithes to the ministry of the national church—all which will doubtless be considered in the plan of ministerial reform. In regard to church endowments there is a great variety of opinions and estimates. One writer says that "perhaps the larger proportion of incomes of clergymen is derived not from the church, but from other sources—from parents and relations—while the actual endowment of the church would barely supply to its minister food and raiment." Bishop Watson thought that if all the revenues of the church were portioned out among the parochial clergy,

they would not give an income to each of more than £150. In 1822, a Mr. Thackeray estimated the whole ecclesiastical revenue at £2,290,000. Dr. Yates says that there are still 3,589 parochial benefices, which do not exceed £98 per annum, that there are 1,000 livings under £60 per annum, and 422 under £30. A great mischief appears to be the inequality of the distribution. The following we take from a late writer, who says it is "according to a most moderate estimate."

|                                                                        |          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 1,733 rectories, containing 4,637,508 acres, at 3s. 6d. an acre, worth | £811,563 |
| 2,341 vicarages, " 6,264,516 " 1s. 3d. "                               | 391,532  |

Annual value, £1,203,095

All which are in the patronage of the crown, bishops, deans, chapters, colleges, and other public establishments. In the gift of private patrons, there are the following:

|                                                                        |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 3,444 rectories, containing 9,216,144 acres, at 3s. 6d. an acre, worth | £1,619,825 |
| 2,175 vicarages, " 5,820,300 " 1s. 3d. "                               | 363,768    |
| 1,000 perpetual curacies, averaging £75 each, . . . . .                | 75,000     |
| 649 benefices, not parochial, averaging £50 each, . . . . .            | 32,450     |

Annual value of private benefices, £2,084,043

8,000 glebes, at £20 each, . . . . . 160,000

Total income of the parochial clergy, £3,447,138

Incomes of bishoprics, 150,000

Incomes of deans and chapters, 275,000

Total revenue of the established church, £3,872,138

In England and Wales the patronage of rectories and vicarages, is thus distributed:

|                                                  |       |                                  |        |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|--------|
| The Crown,                                       | 1,048 | University of Cambridge,         | 283    |
| The Bishops,                                     | 1,301 | Other Collegiate Establishments, | 146    |
| Deans and Chapters,                              | 982   | Private Individuals,             | 3,619  |
| University of Oxford,                            | 302   |                                  |        |
| Total of rectories and vicarages,                |       |                                  | 10,693 |
| Chapels in the patronage of private individuals, |       |                                  | 649    |

Total number of benefices in England and Wales, 11,342

The following is a summary of the value of Scotch livings:

|                              |         |                              |         |
|------------------------------|---------|------------------------------|---------|
| 175 benefices, at £150 each, | £25,800 | 100 benefices, at £305 each, | £30,500 |
| 200 " 200 " 40,000           |         | 76 " 350 " 26,600            |         |
| 200 " 250 " 50,000           |         | 248 houses with glebe lands, |         |
| 200 " 300 " 60,000           |         | at £30 each,                 | 23,440  |

Total value, £362,340

The aggregate revenue of the church of Ireland, in 1832, accord-

ing to Moreau, and several other writers, exceeded £1,300,000 per annum; but according to late parliamentary returns, it is £1,232,000. The population of Ireland is thus distributed:

|                  |           |                    |                 |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Roman Catholics, | 5,500,000 | Methodists, &c.    | 300,000         |
| Presbyterians,   | 600,000   | Church of England, | 400,000         |
|                  |           |                    | <hr/> 7,000,000 |

The total income of the Church in England and Wales, as above stated, is £3,572,138

|              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
| In Scotland, | 963,340   |
| In Ireland,  | 1,232,000 |

Total, Great Britain and Ireland, £5,367,478

It would seem, from some circumstances, that the British ministry do not now feel so much interest in *general education*, as some of them, particularly lord Brougham, did a few years since. A proposition in the last parliament, asserting the importance of early parliamentary measures, was coldly received by lord Althorpe. It is the expectation, however, that some measure will be attempted during the present session. The educational statistics of England, are far from presenting results which can be considered satisfactory to the Christian philanthropist. In London alone, it is estimated that above 150,000 children are growing up without education. In one village, containing 1,469 persons, only 562 were able to read. In other districts, villages are pointed out, containing 1,000, 1,500, or 2,000 inhabitants, yet unprovided with any efficient school. The directors of the British and Foreign School Society declare that **ENGLAND IS YET UNEDUCATED**. Out of 700 individuals put on trial during the year 1831, for acts of rioting and incendiarism in the agricultural counties, only 150 could write, or even read with ease, and nearly the whole number were totally ignorant of religious obligations.

*Laws passed at the last session of Parliament.* The following statements in regard to some important laws passed at the last session of parliament may not be without interest. *Charter of the East India Company.* This charter is extended to the 30th of April, 1854. The monopoly of the company in the China trade to cease after the 30th of April, 1834. The company is to close all their commercial business except so far as it is connected with the political government of India. Their debts and liabilities are to be charged on the revenues of India. The president of the board of control, the lord privy seal, the principal secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to constitute a board of commissioners for various purposes. No official communication to be sent to India by the court of directors until approved by the board of control. The affairs

of India to be under the direction of the "governor general in council." Any native born British subject may enter any port of India, or place where there is a custom-house, without obtaining a license. He must simply leave his name, residence, objects, &c. A license will be required for persons entering India by land. Lands may be purchased by persons resident. No native or person of color, of any class or condition, to be debarred from holding any office under the British government. Slavery to be mitigated and speedily abolished. The bishopric of Calcutta to be divided, and two new bishoprics, Madras and Bombay, to be formed. The bishops of the two latter to have an income not exceeding 24,000 sicca rupees each, per annum. The bishop of Calcutta to be the metropolitan. St. Helena to revert to the crown of Britain.—*China Trade.* This trade is now open to all his majesty's subjects, all prohibitions on the importation of tea, &c., being removed. The act also provides that there shall be an established British authority at Canton. (Lord Napier has since been appointed to this place.)—*Factories' Bill.* No person under eighteen years of age, with a few specified exceptions, to work in manufactories in the night. The whole time allowed is twelve hours out of the twenty-four, or sixty-nine in a week. No child under nine years to work at all except in silk mills. None between nine and thirteen, in ordinary cases, to work more than nine hours in a day. Christmas, Good Friday, and eight half days in a year to be allowed to all laborers as holidays. A certificate of the health and strength of each individual is to be obtained from a regular physician. Four inspectors to be appointed by the secretaries of state, to visit all manufactories and make an annual report. One section makes provision for children to attend school, and in such cases one penny in a shilling and no more may be deducted from their wages. Parents liable to a fine of twenty shillings if they suffer their children to be employed beyond the specified hours. One hour and a half to be allowed for every meal.—*Abolition of Slavery.* After the first of August, 1834, all slavery is to cease in the British dominions, except in Ceylon, St. Helena, and the East Indies, (where are special provisions.) On the first of August, 1834, all slaves over six years of age to enter into the rank of apprenticed laborers, and to be divided into three classes. 1. *Praedial slaves*, or those attached to the soil and engaged for the most part in agricultural employments. 2. *Non-praedial slaves*, engaged in commerce, trades, manufactures, &c. 3. All not included in the two preceding classes. The apprenticeship of the first class not to extend beyond August, 1840, and of the second not beyond August, 1838. Laborers may be discharged by the voluntary act of their employers. The right to serve may be

transferred as property, but in no case shall families be separated. The whipping of females to be in no case permitted. All Sunday labor to be abolished. As a compensation to slave-holders, £20,000,000 are to be paid to them from the treasury. The compensation to be distributed in nineteen shares, according to the number and relative value of slaves in each colony; but to be entirely withheld from such as do not comply with the provisions of the act. It has since been determined that slavery may be immediately abolished, without resorting to the apprenticeship for all such as may be inclined to adopt this course.—*Oaths.* An act was passed permitting Quakers and Moravians to affirm in cases where an oath is required.—

*Irish Church Temporalities' bill.* All payments of first fruits to the established church in Ireland "forever to determine and cease." The archbishopric of Cashel to be annexed to that of Armagh, and the archbishopric of Tuam to that of Dublin. Eight bishoprics are to be united to others, when the present incumbents leave them—as for instance that of Kilmore, is to be united to Ardagh. The surplus revenues of some bishoprics—as for instance those of Armagh and Derry, are to be paid over for the benefit of the poorer bishoprics. All bishoprics which have an income over £4,000 per annum, are to be taxed 5 per cent for such excess—all between £6,000 and £8,000, to be taxed 7 per cent—£8,000 and £10,000, 10 per cent—£10,000 and £15,000, 12 per cent—all over £15,000, 15 per cent. An ecclesiastical commission to attend to the affairs of the Irish church has been appointed, consisting of the lord primate, lord high chancellor, and chief justice of Ireland, archbishop of Dublin, and four of the English archbishops and bishops.

A proposal of the city authorities of London to demolish a number of churches in the metropolis, to make way for contemplated improvements in the streets and squares, has excited so much opposition, that it has been abandoned. The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London said, that there would be no objection to considering the expediency of demolishing any particular church which might be named.

The British government have at length consented to establish an astronomical observatory at Edinburgh. The professor of astronomy is to be appointed by the crown, with a salary of £300 per annum; and an assistant with a salary of £100. The sum of £1,000 is appropriated to build the observatory, and £100 for annual repairs.

#### Spain.

Spain has been governed by the Bourbon family, since 1700. The succession was limited to the male line, till April 8, 1830, when, by

a royal ordinance, females were rendered capable of succeeding to the throne. Donna Maria Isabella, the present queen of Spain, was born Oct. 12, 1830. Her mother, Maria Christina, queen regent, daughter of the king of the two Sicilies, was married to Ferdinand, Dec. 4, 1829. Charles Isidore, head of the Carlist party, and brother of Ferdinand, is forty-six years old. Martinez de la Rosa, now appointed premier, in the place of Zea Bermudez, was a member of the constituent cortex of Cadiz, which in 1812, formed the plan of the constitution, for the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne. De Rosa was condemned to hard labor at Ceuta. In 1821—3, he was prime minister to Ferdinand. He was then banished for the second time. He is regarded as a learned statesman. Gareli, newly appointed minister of justice, was a member of the cortex of 1820—3, and is regarded as a person of moral worth and intelligence. Zarco del Valle, minister of war, was captain general of the province of Arragon, under the constitutional government. Very faint hopes ought to be entertained of the political disenthralment of Spain, so long as the Catholic religion maintains its ascendancy. The whole number of ecclesiastics in 1826, in that ill-fated land, was stated at 146,696, which is about one in ninety of the inhabitants. Of this number, 61,327 men and 31,400 women were in convents. Pebrer, a late Spanish writer, says that "it is to her bad fiscal laws, to her bad system of imposts, to the taxes upon consumption, which enhanced wages, and prevented the sale of manufactures, that the misfortunes of Spain must be attributed." It is to be feared, however, that the causes of her decline lie far deeper.

#### *South Africa.*

Sir John F. W. Herschell, only son of the late Sir William Herschell, has sailed with his family to the Cape of Good Hope, to spend some time at the observatory, near Cape Town, in an examination of the stars of the southern hemisphere—a work which he has been for some time intending to accomplish. His experience with his father, his powerful telescopes, his great attainments in almost every department of human knowledge, his fine powers as a philosophical writer, his devotion to science, his high moral principles, and his engaging modesty, have given him great celebrity in his native land. He sailed in the same ship which carried out the new governor of the colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. The observatory has been under the care of Mr. Henderson, and is situated a little distance from Cape Town.

*India.*

Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, lately one of the members of the governor general's council, has been appointed governor of the new presidency of Agra. Mr. T. B. Macauley, M. P., son of Zachary Macauley, is appointed fourth member of the council. It is reported in the Asiatic Journal that the bishop of Calcutta has forbidden the clergy of his diocese to permit the missionary Wolfe to preach in their churches, not on account of his not being a member of the established church, as from reports to his disadvantage, which had been propagated by Lieut. Burnes. A controversy of an interesting character has lately taken place in Calcutta, between the Rev. Alexander Duff, a missionary, and a Mr. Clarke, an advocate in the city, in consequence of an assertion of the latter, that the missionaries were guilty of the most flagitious conduct in disturbing the peace of Hindoo families, in endeavoring to induce them to change their religion. Several letters passed between them, when Mr. Clarke failing to substantiate his charges, the matter was dropped. We regret that Mr. Duff was betrayed into some unjustifiable expressions.—The subject of opening a steam navigation between England and India by means of the Mediterranean and the Red sea, is exciting great interest in every part of India. Large subscriptions have been raised in Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Calcutta, and other places. At a meeting in the latter city, bishop Wilson presided, and made an animated speech. Some of the principal difficulties are expected from the bad government, or rather the want of all government on the part of the Arab tribes and chiefs in the vicinity of the Red sea. Mr. Wilson, the chief promoter of the undertaking, was detained by them several months.

*Slavery in British India.*

By the late charter granted to the East India Company, slavery is to cease in India in the year 1837. The number of slaves in the British possessions compared with the whole population is not large. Still the amount of suffering and degradation connected with the system is by no means inconsiderable. The slaves are of two classes, agrestic and domestic, or field and household slaves. In the southern Mahratta country, the number of domestic slaves is 15,000, or rather more than three quarters per cent of the whole population. All the principal natives retain slaves in their domestic establishments. Female slaves especially are considered indispensable in every Mahratta household. In the zillah [judicial district] of Canara, the total number of slaves, agrestic and domestic may be computed at 80,000, or about one in twelve of the entire population; of whom 15,000 or

20,000 are descendants of those who were taken in battle, or concubines, or brahmin and sooder women, who had lost caste by having connection with men of inferior caste. In Malabar, the number of slaves is about 95,000, the whole population being rather over 1,000,000. Of the 1,600,000 in the province of Travancore, one twelfth are estimated to be slaves. Cochin has 150,000 souls, of whom 12,000 are slaves. Large numbers exist in the province of Tanjore. Agrestic slaves are not found in the central provinces of the peninsula, such as the ceded districts, or Mysore, Northern Circars, Nellore, and in the country where the Telinga language is spoken. It is common wherever the Tamul language is spoken, and assumes its worst form on the western coast of the peninsula, or in the provinces of Malabar and Canara. In all the countries above enumerated, the varieties and sources of domestic slavery are very numerous; namely, those persons who are the offspring or descendants of free born persons captured during wars; outcaste Hindoos, who had been sold into slavery under or by former governments; kidnapped persons, brought by travelling merchants from distant inland states, and sold into slavery; persons imported from the ports in the Persian gulf, in the Red sea, or from the African coast; persons sold when children, by their own parents in time of great famine or dearth; the offspring of illegitimate connections, that is of cohabitation between low caste Hindoo men and brahmin women, and generally between Hindoos of different castes, or within the prohibited degrees of kindred; persons who in consideration of a sum of money, or in discharge of a security for payment of a debt, have bound themselves by a voluntary contract to servitude, either for life, or for a limited period; all which have in former times, or do now prevail more or less, wherever domestic slavery is found. The origin of domestic or praedial slavery is very remote. The general term given for this description of slavery is *Adami*, or literally serf, aboriginal or indigenous, being held under precisely the same terms or tenures as the land itself, throughout, with some slight modifications, the Malabar coasts, some of the Balagat districts, and in the western parts of the table land of Mysore. Domestic slavery is fully recognized by both the Hindoo and Mohammedan code, as well as by the usages of the people. Agrestic slavery is equally recognized by the common law, called *desh-ajary*. The practice of disposing of domestic slaves as separate from the soil or land of their birth, is considered as decidedly at variance with and in innovation of that law as observed in ancient times. Such a practice is moreover inconsistent with the due observance of religious ceremonies, every part of Malabar having its tutelary deity, and all classes of slaves having



their household gods to whom on particular days, they perform the same ceremonies that all other castes, who are free born, do to theirs. Mr. Duncan, former governor of Bombay, speaking of the degraded castes of poliards and cherumnars, writes, "They are considered in a great degree in a state of villeinage, and as bondsmen attached to the soil, though they are not properly and lawfully objects of slavery, like slaves in the full extent of that word, unless they happen to be thus made over as part of the stock, at the same time that the master, the brahmin or nairn land-holder, should have disposed of the land on which they live." The treatment of slaves, whether agrestic or domestic, necessarily depends on the individual character of their masters. Of the domestic slaves, especially the most numerous part of them, the females, it is difficult to describe what the treatment is, or how employed, clothed, or subsisted, amongst a people like the natives of India, who, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, observe such a watchful jealousy in all which regards their domestic economy, and consequently of whose family arrangements and habits, so little can be known. Generally speaking, however, both male and female are employed as menial servants; a great many are kept for purposes of state. With respect to the condition of agrestic slaves, nothing can be more truly miserable. They are slaves to the remotest posterity, and their servitude is also one of unmitigated severity. Their daily allowance of food is about one half of what able bodied men and women receive, provided they do some work. With respect to their dwellings, so very impure are all classes of slaves held, that they are obliged to erect their huts at a distance from all other habitations; neither are they allowed to approach, except within certain prescribed distances, the houses or persons of any of the free castes. Those distances vary from seventy-two to twenty-four paces, as well with reference to the caste of the several grades of freemen, as to their own, for even among these wretched creatures the pride of caste has its influence. If a slave accidentally touches a brahmin, he must purify himself by prayer and ablution, and by changing his poonool, (brahminical thread.) Hence it is that slaves are obliged to leave the road, and call aloud from as far off as they can see.

#### China.

Since the voyages of the Lord Amherst, a number of other ships have sailed along the coast, none of them, however, reaching the northern provinces, but the Sylph. The usual artful policy was exhibited on the part of the mandarins, but no insurmountable obstacles were thrown in the way of the voyagers. A new era is manifestly dawning on China. The population, it may be hoped, will soon receive the treasures of European civilization.

## - OBITUARY NOTICES.

## RICHARD HEBER.

RICHARD HEBER was half brother to the late bishop Reginald Heber. He was born January 5, 1773, and died October 4, 1833. He was one of the most extraordinary instances of *bibliomania* which has come to our knowledge. He began his collection of books in college, and spent most of his life in adding to it. The languages embraced in his libraries were English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Latin, Mexican, and others. He was a most indefatigable attendant upon book-auctions, and had possessed himself of the rare volumes owned by Dr. Farmer, E. Malone, George Steevens, J. Perry, the duke of Roxburghe, and many besides. He once purchased an entire library at Paris, of 30,000 volumes. He sometimes encountered a journey of 400 or 500 miles to purchase a rare book, not being willing to trust a written order. His books were deposited at Hodnet, Pimlico, York street in London, Oxford, Paris, Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and elsewhere. Many of his buildings, including shelves, stair-cases, window-seats, chairs, tables, closets, and garrets, were literally crowded. His rule was to obtain triplicates of all copies, where it was possible, so that he might guard against loss, and also gratify a propensity which every book-monger feels, of being exclusive owner of costly books and editions. But Mr. Heber was not simply a collector of libraries. He had the acquaintance of a great number of distinguished men. He understood several languages, and edited some of the Greek authors. For six or eight years, he was a member of parliament for the university of Oxford. He was of great assistance in the education of his brother Reginald, and ever treated him with marked kindness.

## MARSHAL JOURDAN.

JEAN BAPTISTE JOURDAN was born at Limoges, France, April 29, 1762, and died at Paris, Nov. 23, 1833. He entered the military service in 1778, and fought in this country. In 1791, he commanded a battalion of volunteers in the French army of the north. In 1793, he was appointed general of brigade, and two months after, general of division. In June, 1794, he gained the victory of Fleurus, by which he became conqueror of Belgium, and drove the allies beyond

the Rhine. In 1796, he subdued Franconia, but was soon afterwards totally defeated by the archduke Charles. In March, 1797, he was chosen a member of the council of 500, of which he twice became president. He remained a firm friend to the republic. In 1803, Napoleon named him general in chief of the army of Italy, but he was soon superseded by Massena. In 1806, he commanded under Joseph Buonaparte, in Naples, and in 1808, followed him to Spain. After the loss of the battle of Vittoria, he remained in retirement at Rouen. He was one of the first to declare in favor of Louis XVIII. in 1814. In 1816, the king of Sardinia sent him his portrait as a token of gratitude for his administration of Piedmont, in 1800. He belonged to the party of the liberal constitutionalists. He passed his latter days as governor of the hospital of invalids, where he was regarded with strong affection by the old soldiers. He was an able general, and a humane man. Though he had been so often defeated that he had acquired the epithet of "*the anvil*," yet Napoleon had great confidence in his judgment and courage. His defeats on several occasions were not at all owing to his own mismanagement or want of courage. His funeral was attended by a great concourse. Eulogies were pronounced by the duke of Treviso, and generals Fririon and Solignac.

#### EMANUEL RASK.

THIS distinguished individual was born near Odensee, in the island of Funen, in 1784. He studied at Copenhagen, afterwards lived several years in Ireland, and made scientific tours through Sweden, Finland, and Russia. In 1808, he received an appointment in the university library at Copenhagen, and made himself familiar with the most ancient sources of northern history. His introduction to a knowledge of the Icelandic or old language of the north; his Anglo Saxon grammar, translated into English by Thorpe; his examination into the origin of the Icelandic language, which received the prize from the Danish Society of Science; his edition of Bjorn Haldorsen's Icelandic Dictionary, and his valuable contributions to other works on the ancient northern languages, are proofs of great learning and industry. Before 1822, Rask had mastered twenty-five languages. In 1819, he undertook a tour through Russia to Persia, and thence sailed, 1820, for Bombay, and visited Ceylon, for the purpose of prosecuting his researches in comparative philology. While in the East, he collected 113 old and rare oriental manuscripts for the university of Copenhagen; among which were 33 relative to the ancient Persian literature, and particularly to the Zendavesta; 19 in

the Zend, and the others in the Pehlvi language. After his return to Copenhagen, professor Rask published a Spanish grammar, a Frisian grammar, a Danish grammar for the use of Englishmen, and an Arabic grammar and text-book. He held the situation of keeper of the royal library and manuscripts at Copenhagen. He died of a pulmonary consumption near the close of 1833.

#### WILLAM WIRT.

MR. WIRT was born at Bladensburg, Maryland, on the 8th of November, 1772; and was the youngest of six children. His father (a Swiss) died while William was an infant; and his mother (a German) when he was eight years old. Being thus an orphan, he was received into the family of his uncle, who (with his wife) was also a native of Switzerland. He appears to have been kindly treated and encouraged by his aunt, who, divining his talents, had him continued at the grammar school at Georgetown, despite the pittance left for his education by his parents. Wirt was thence removed to a classical school in Charles county, Maryland, kept by Hatch Dent in the vestry house of Newport Church. From Dent's school, Wirt, (in his eleventh year,) removed to that kept by the Rev. James Hunt, a Presbyterian clergyman in Montgomery county, Maryland—of whose kindness, learning, and affability, his pupil ever retained a grateful remembrance. Wirt had free access to the library of his tutor, of which he made a free use. Having read that Pope constructed sentences and stanzas at twelve years of age, Wirt became as emulous to rival him, as Pope himself had similarly been stimulated to rival Cowley. While Wirt was at the school of Mr. Hunt, a circumstance occurred which controlled his destiny. Wirt with his school-mates was permitted occasionally to attend and hear the pleadings at the Montgomery Court House. Wirt became so fascinated with the eloquence displayed—particularly by a young gentleman, since well known as William H. Dorsey—that he suggested to his school-fellows to have a juvenile court of their own; of which he prepared a constitution and a body of laws, prefacing them in his report by an apologetic letter for himself. Under judge Edwards, Wirt laid the foundation of his knowledge of the law. He studied law also under William Hunt, the son of his old preceptor, and afterwards under Mr. Thomas Swann in the District of Columbia, where he was admitted to the bar in 1792. Immediately after his admission, he removed to Culpepper Court House, in Virginia, and commenced his practice, when 20 years of age. The first case in which he was engaged, arose from assault and battery, by three

persons, two of whom had been by writs liberated; but the third was continued in prison, because taken immediately in execution. To liberate him without a formal writ, but on motion, was the object of the young pleaders; and Wirt acquitted himself so well as to acquire the patronage of the late general John Miner, then attending as a lawyer. In '95 he married the eldest daughter of Dr. George Gilmer, of Charlottesville, which introduced him to the best society in the neighborhood, and among others, to Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. But it introduced him to a scene of life with which he became intoxicated; and through means of which he was plunged into the depths of dissipation and debauchery. From this untoward course, he was singularly ransomed by a sermon which he heard from the blind preacher, *James Waddell*, whom he has so celebrated in his *British Spy*. The sketch there given is often placed in enviable juxtaposition with those of Le Fèvre and La Roche. When his wife died in 1795, and he had removed to Richmond, he was appointed clerk of the House of Delegates, as successor to John Stewart, which situation he held till 1802. He was then appointed chancellor of the eastern district of Virginia, though only 29 years of age. But during his chancellorship, to which a very small salary was attached, having married the daughter of the late colonel Gamble of Richmond, he was obliged to resign, and resume his professional practice, more adequately to support his change of domestic life. Through the persuasion of Mr. Tazewell, the late elected governor of Virginia, he was induced to settle at Norfolk in that State, where he remained reaping emolument and fame till 1806. In that year he returned to Richmond; and in the following year he was retained (by the special direction of Jefferson) as attorney for the government in the celebrated case of Aaron Burr; of his eloquence, &c., in the prosecution, chief justice Marshall, (the presiding judge,) remarked—'The question has been argued in a manner worthy of its importance. A degree of eloquence seldom displayed on any occasion, has embellished solidity of argument, and depth of research.' In 1808, he was elected a member for Richmond to the Virginia legislature; and was soon after elected as a privy councillor, by Mr. Monroe, the then governor of the State. In 1816, he was appointed United States' attorney for the district of Virginia, by Madison, and in 1817, he was appointed United States' attorney general, by Mr. Monroe, an office which he sustained with eminence and efficiency, during the administrations of Monroe and Adams.

# INDEX

TO THE

## SECOND VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY OBSERVER.

### A.

Abyssinia and Nubia, 163—recent events in, 163—value of Bruce's travels, 164—ruins in, 164.  
Address of President Quincy, review of, 128.  
Adulteration of wines, 341—history of wine, 342—vineyards in France, 343—character of Portuguese wines, 344—frauds in wine, 345—receipts for making wine, 346—wine drank in England, 347—wines used in United States, 348.  
Advancement of Society, 227—opportunity to do good, 228—things favorable to virtue, 230—tendency of things, 231—no valuable discovery lost, 232—science remains, 235—good man vindicated, 236—waste of talents, 238—influence of Howard, 239—Byron and Cowper, 240—Bunyan's Pilgrim, 241—influence of benevolence, 243—divine protection, 246.  
Affairs, public view of, 185, 379.  
Allen on war and congress of nations, 1.  
Almanac American, 178.  
American independence, declaration of, 48.  
American Board, report of, 180.  
American literature compared with English, 36.  
American Biography, 364.  
Annals of Education, noticed, 175.  
Annual Register, 369.

Anderson, on teaching science to the heathen, 24.

### B.

Baron Cuvier, 174.  
Brownrigg, Sir Robert, character of, 194.  
Bryant's Poems, 308—various classes of poets, 309—qualities of Bryant's poetry, 310—extracts from the Ages, 312—Thanatopsis, 315—Shorter poems, extracts, 317—native style of his poetry, 321—general excellencies, 322.  
Byron's works reviewed, 291—effect of vice on the mind, 292—principles of Byron, 294—frank confession of guilt, 295—mental adoration of Deity, 297—physical stimulants, 300—religious opinions of Byron, 302—last hours of Byron, 305.

### C.

Character of Andrew Fuller, 110.  
Christianity, hints on evidence of, 167.  
Christianity connected with science, 24.  
Comparison of American literature with English, 36.  
Coray Dr. and Greek church, 199—regeneration of Greece, 200—habits of Dr. Coray, 201—necessity of action for Greeks, 201—death

of Dr. Coray, 203—writings of Dr. Coray, 204—Greek priest, ignorance of, 205—learned men, want of, 207—improvement of patriarchal press, 208—Greek newspapers, 210—rejection of Romish priests, 210—description of an ignorant priest, 212—patriarch of Constantinople, 217—celibacy of priests, 219—Turkish government, 222—Jesuits, 223.

Cottage Bible, 360.

Critical Notices, 192, 350.

Cushing Caleb's, Review, 353.

Cuvier, Memoirs of, 174.

#### D.

Dana Daniel, D. D., on Christian literature, 89.

Dana's Poetry, reviewed, 149—legitimate purpose of poetry, 152—influence of religion on poetry, 156—effect of Dana's poetry, 159.

Dwight Pres., Decisions of, 151.

Declaration of American independence, 51—importance of free discussion, 52—equality of men considered, 53—moral equality of men, 55—doctrines of Soame Jenyns, 56—French revolution, effects of, 58—conventional rights of men, 60—falsity of an original compact, 62—true grounds of social state, 63—opinions of Burke and others, 65—rights of life and property, 67—personal liberty, 68—real rights of men, 71—evils of licentious liberty, 74—evils of tyranny, 75—changes in opinions of Burke, 76—doctrines of the abolitionists, 79—influence of abolitionists on slavery, 82.

#### E.

Education, annals of, noticed, 175.

English Literature compared with American, 36.

England and the English, 370.

Evidences of Christianity, noticed, 167.

#### F.

Flint's Geography, 177.

Frothingham's lecture, 180.

Fuller Andrew, character of, 110—multiplication of books, 111—booksellers and publishers, 112—Lin-

coln Ensign, character of, 113—general value of Fuller's works, 115—early feelings of Fuller, 117—value of the present edition of his works, 115—views of Fuller on justification, 122—habits of punctuality, 125.

#### G.

Geography, Flint's noticed, 177.

Genius, infirmities of, 181.

Gregg on Declaration of American Independence, 48.

#### H.

Hartford Convention, 357.

Hebrew poetry, 179.

Heber Richard, life noticed, 395.

Hints on the evidences of Christianity, 167.

Homer, the theme of his poems, 20.

#### I.

Independence, declaration of, 48.

Intelligence literary, 182, 374.

Infirmities of genius, 181.

#### J.

Jourdan Marshal, life noticed, 395.

Jurisprudence, present system of, 128—general rank of lawyers, 129—present organization of the law, 133—judges and jury, 134—honesty of a lawyer, 135—security of property, 136—alleged oppression of the law, 137—French and English codes, 139—arbitration considered, 144.

#### L.

LANMAN on jurisprudence, 128.

Life of Friedrich Schiller, 172.

Literature, importance of purified, 89.

Literary intelligence, 182, 374.

#### M.

Magazine Temperance, 176.

Manly piety, by R. Philip, 170.

Memoirs of Cuvier, 174.

Montgomery's lectures, 361.

Missionary sermons, 168.

Milton's poetry, new edition, 356.

More Hannah, obituary notice of, 192.

## N.

Nations, Congress of, 1.  
 Notices, critical, 163, 350.  
 Notices, obituary, 192, 395.  
 Neilgherry Hills, 368.  
 Nubia and Abyssinia, 163.

## O.

Obituary notices, 192.  
 Old Jersey Captive, 171, 395.

## P.

Parnell on roads, 365.  
 Persia, women of, 165.  
 Poems and prose writings of Dana, 149.  
 Poetry of the Hebrews, 179.  
 Porter's Lectures, 325—history of preaching, 326—various writers, 327—Campbell's essay, 328—analysis of the lectures, 330—extracts from the lectures, 332—general excellence of the work, 337.  
 Piety manly, 170.  
 Purified literature, importance of, 89.  
 Present system of jurisprudence, 128.  
 President Dwight's decisions, 165.  
 Public affairs, view of, 185, 379.

## R.

Rammohun Roy, obituary notice of, 199.  
 Raak professor, notice of, 396.

## S.

Science, importance of, to the heathen, 24—object of modern missions, 26—truth and error, 27.  
 Science ethical, present state of, 247—practical ethics, 248—true limits of the Scriptures, 249—a neglected branch of knowledge, 250—new work on ethics demanded, 252—doctrine of expediency, 254—defective instruction of the schools, 259.

Sermons missionary, 168.

Schiller, life of, 172.

Slavery question, 261—three classes of slave-holders, 261—proper concessions, 262—true ground of presenting the subject, 263—impossibility of preventing discussion, 264—free States involved in guilt, 265—slavery a national evil, 266.

Stone T. T., on American and English literature, 36.

Story's Class Book, noticed, 370.

Study of Sacred Literature, 269—cause of apathy on this subject, 270—authors on sacred history, 271—history of Christianity, 272—interesting nature of the study, 273—the study instructive, 276—Christianity a friend to civil liberty, 280—clergy friends to freedom, 281—church history encouraging, 282—view of Chateaubriand, 283—influence of reformation, 285—object of the gospel, 287—progress of the church, 289—the gospel a moral remedy, 290.

## T.

Temperance Magazine, 176.  
 Tracy E. C., review of Dana, 149.  
 Thorburn Grant, life and times, 109.

## V.

Van Dieman's Land, 166.  
 Villers's essay, 363.

## W.

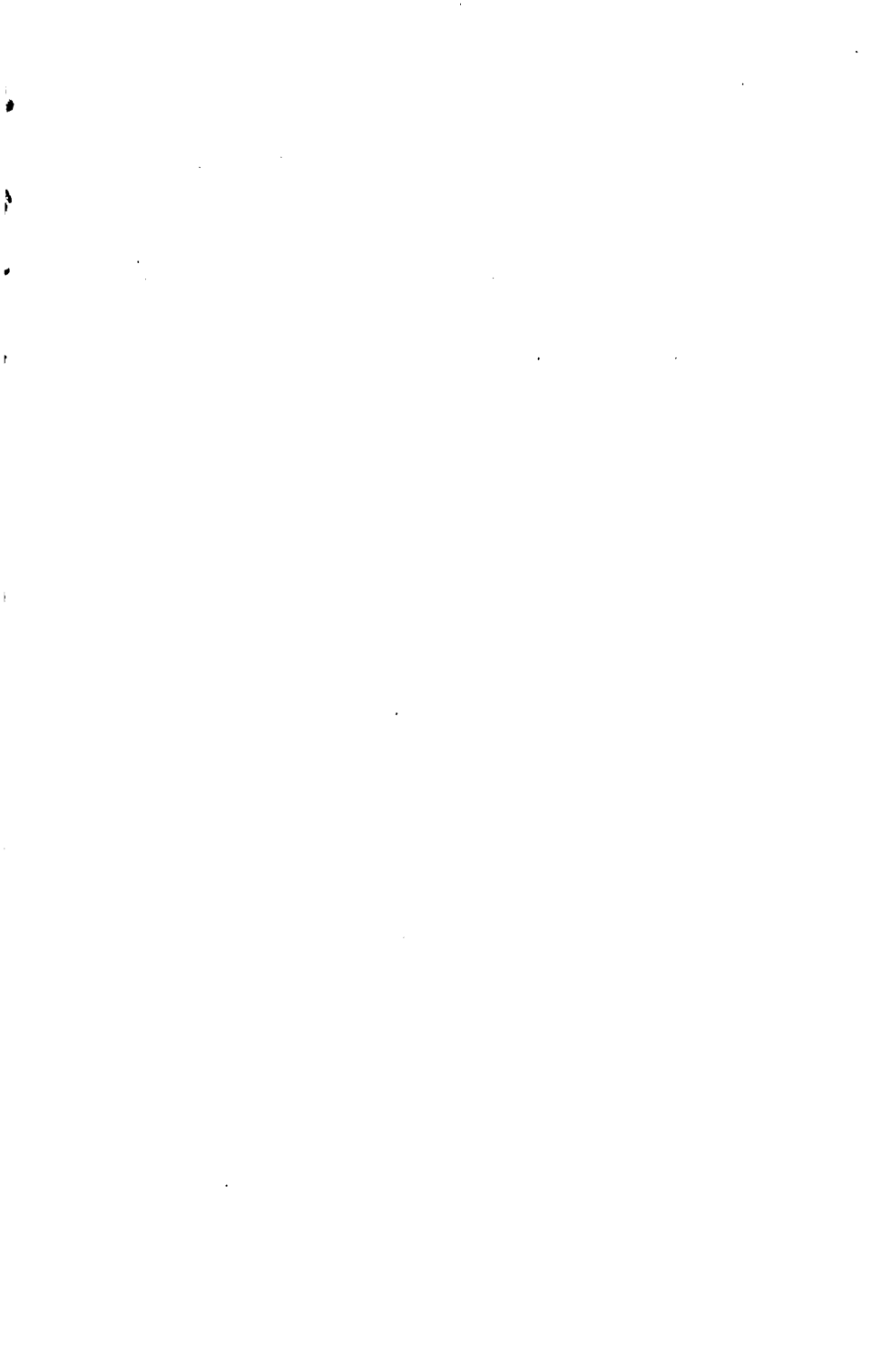
War, consequences of, 6—effects on wealth, 7—miseries of war, 8—immoralities occasioned by war, 9—devices of war, 10—remedy for war, 12—expenses of, 18.  
 Whately's Rhetoric, noticed, 350.  
 Whewell's statics, 369.  
 Winter Dr., obituary of, 194.  
 Wilberforce, notice of, 195.  
 Wirt William, life of, 397.  
 Women of Persia, 165.

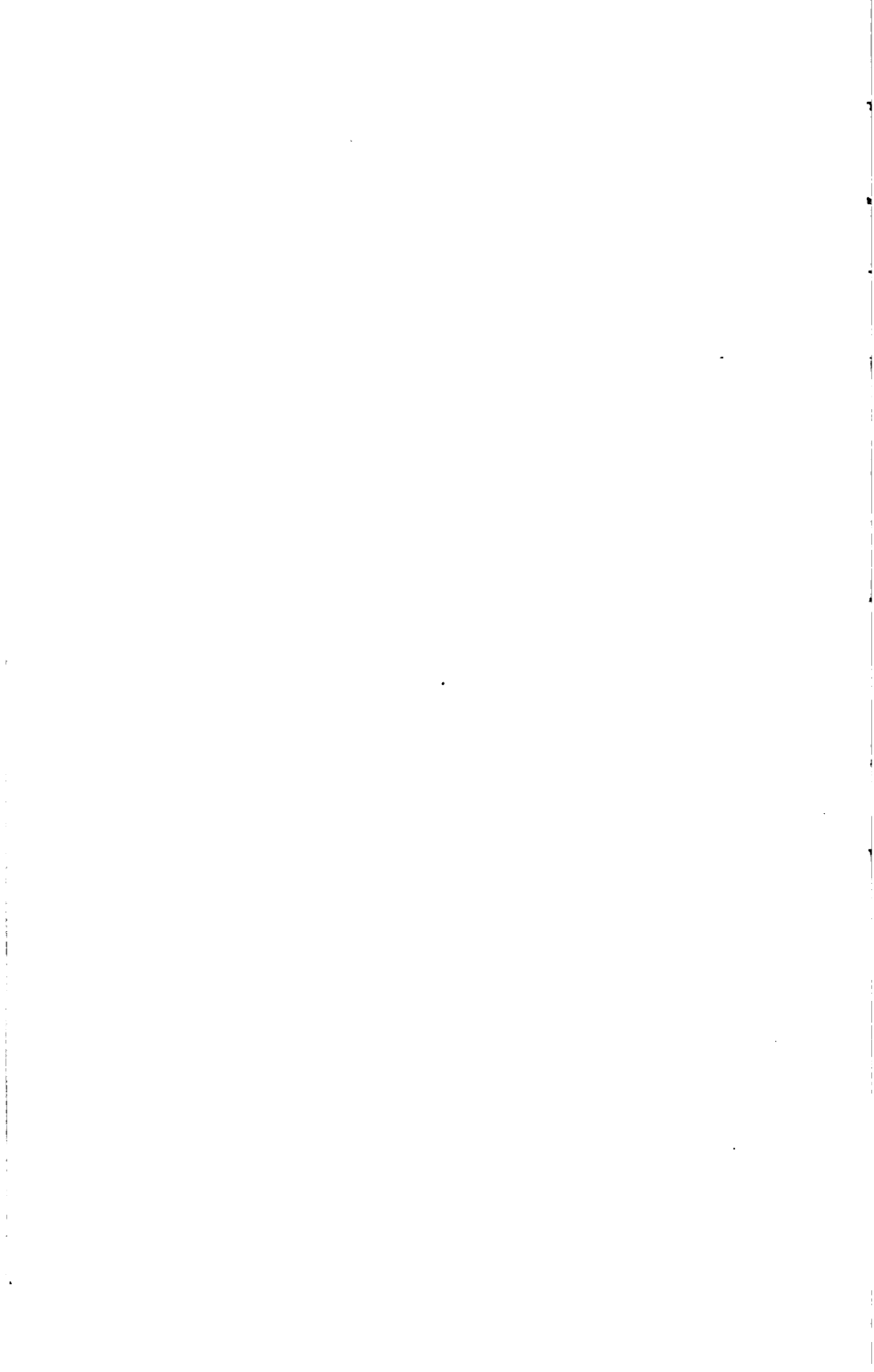


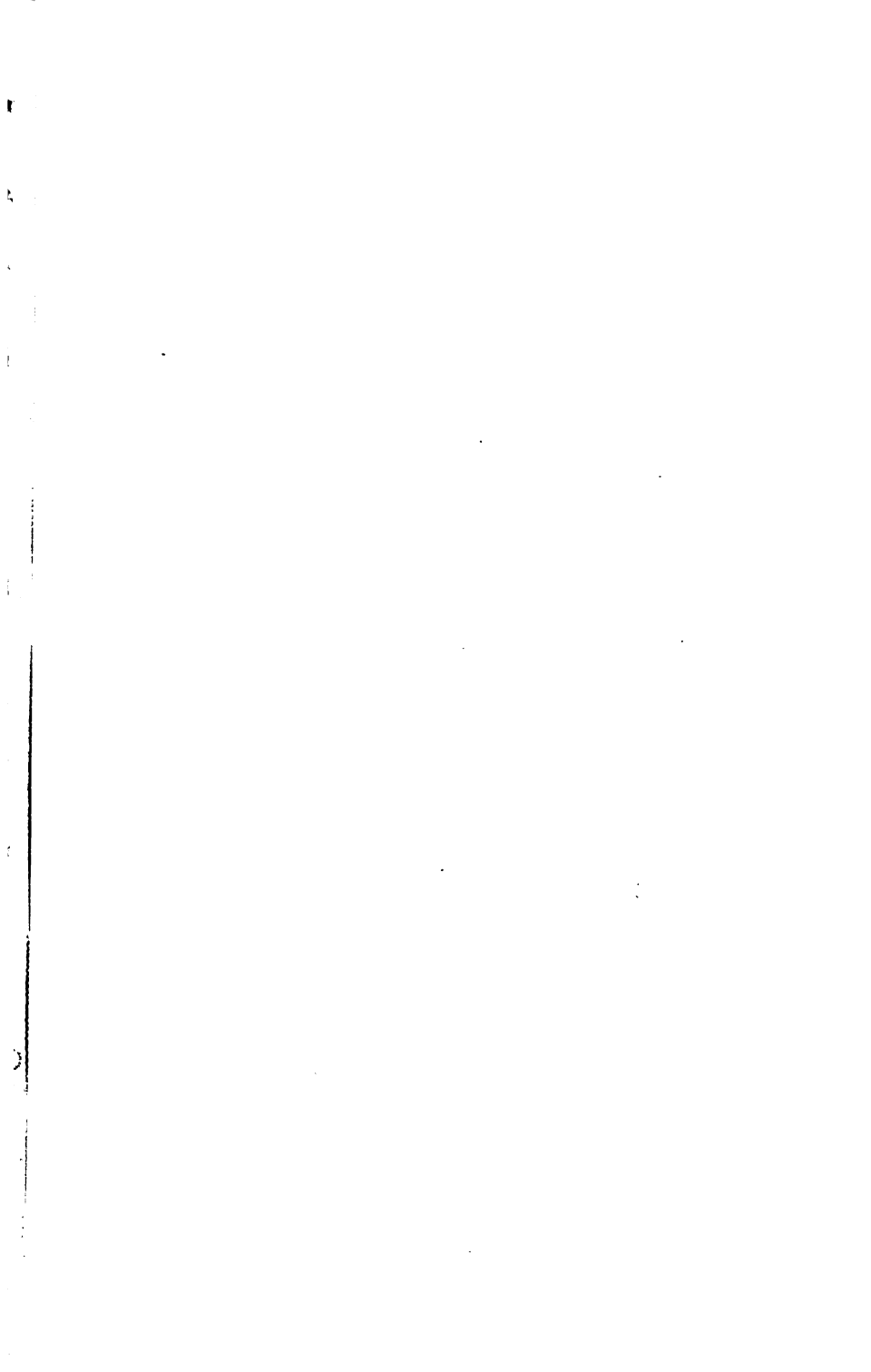
We have been obliged to postpone a number of essays which we have received. There will be inserted in our next number an article on Political Economy, and another on Logic, from the pens of two distinguished writers. We have received several communications on the subject of the article inserted in the number for January, on the Declaration of Independence. We shall hereafter furnish further particulars, in regard to the life and writings of Mr. Wirt.

In our last number, p. 44, the Chauncy referred to was not the writer on Universalism opposed to the Rev. Pres. Edwards, of Schenectady, but the clergyman of Boston, who was the opponent of Whitefield. On page 96, near the top, *invoking* should be *involving*, and page 97, near the top, *dilated* should be *diluted*.

In the present number, p. 233, it should read "the statue of Chantrey," instead of Canova.







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